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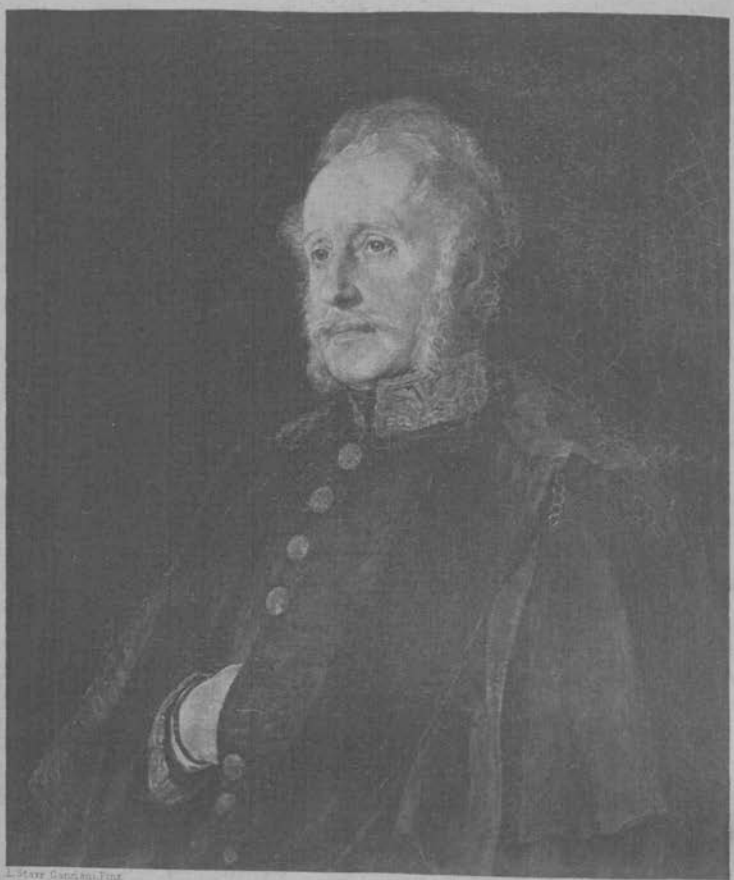
LIFE

OF

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON.



J. Hodgson

1872 - ÆTAT 72.

LIFE

OF

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON,

BRITISH RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF NEPAL,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY;
A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ETC.

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ac

BY SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER,

K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D.,

A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ETC.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
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OAKEN HOLT, CUMNOR,
NEAR OXFORD.

DEAR MRS. HODGSON,

This book owes much to your care and skill in collecting private letters. I also thank you for other help, and for many touches of the inner nature of him whose life it records. It would have been his wish that an effort to perpetuate his memory should be associated with your name. I beg therefore to dedicate it to you.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

W. W. HUNTER.

September 1st, 1896.

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The illustrations have been prepared and the photographs taken by Mrs. Brian Hodgson, from the originals now in her house at Abinger, Surrey.

The inscription on the cover is an epitome of the Buddhist faith, as given in one of the Sanskrit MSS. discovered by Mr. Hodgson in Nepal, and may be rendered :—

"The cause of all things hath Buddha explained. The great Sramana hath likewise explained the cause of the extinction of all things."

LIFE OF
BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON.
1800—1894.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD: 1800—1816.

BRIAN HODGSON died in 1894, in his ninety-fifth year. Had he died seventy years previously, he would have been mourned as the most brilliant young scholar whom the Indian Civil Service has produced. Had he died in middle life, he would have been remembered as the masterly diplomatist who held quiet the kingdom of Nepal and the warlike Himalayan races throughout the disasters of the Afghan war. Had he died at three-score years of age, he would have been honoured as the munificent Englishman who enriched the museums of Europe with his collections, enlarged the old boundaries of more than one science, and opened up a new field of original research.

He outlived his contemporaries. In 1883 the learned Italian, Count Angelo di Gubernatis, when introduced to him, exclaimed: "Surely not the veritable Hodgson, the founder of our Buddhist studies! He, alas, is dead these many years." In 1889, when Oxford conferred on him her degree of D.C.L., the Sheldonian rang with welcome to the beautiful white-haired scholar who seemed to have stepped

forth from a bygone world. Many of his honours came to him when young; some arrived too late. There is a story of how a thrifty monarch sent his too tardy largesse to the bard Ferdousi. But as the mules laden with bags of gold entered the eastern archway of the poet's city, the poet's bier was borne out by the western gate.

The chief services which Hodgson rendered to his country are the least known. The distinctions conferred on him by learned societies in many lands made him conspicuous among Orientalists during the first half of this century. But it was as British Resident at an Indian Court that Hodgson earned his highest claims upon the nation. He was a civilian diplomatist on whom, during a dark hour of our rule, fell the task of upholding the British supremacy in a hostile military State, unsupported by force of arms, and with only his personal influence to sustain his counsels. The work done for our Indian Empire by such men, as distinguished from Soldier Politicals, is yet unrecorded. I purpose to tell the story of one of them from the official documents written on the spot, and now for the first time laid open to the public eye.

The story may be wanting in the dramatic effects of the Soldier Political's career, with a treaty in one hand and a sword in the other. But it will disclose certain aspects of the British suzerainty of India not hitherto realised. We shall learn how a young civilian was trained in building up newly annexed districts, left waste by the misrule of a usurping Himalayan Power, into a peaceful and prosperous British province. We shall then see him at his first lessons in dealing with the usurping Himalayan Power itself. We shall next find him holding back that Power from our frontier, with a nation of warriors exultant at the destruction of our Afghan army and fiercely straining in his leash. We shall watch him thread his perilous way through the intrigues of rival queens, royal kinsmen, and mayors of the palace, guarded solely by

his own immovable calm amid their tragedies of massacre poisoning, torture, suicide, and exile to the snows. After twenty years of thankless labour we view him emerge from the homicidal scene, followed by the tears of the prince and the acclamations of the people.

From first to last we find his conduct regulated by two motives—the desire to preserve the integrity of the kingdom to which he was accredited, and the determination to render its integrity a source of strength instead of danger to the British Government. We also discern how many annoyances the East India Company would bear rather than destroy the independence of a Native State by annexation.

I have referred at some length to the public aspects of Brian Hodgson's career. For no man recognised more keenly than he that an Indian civilian must be judged, first of all, by his public work. Nor would any one have more despised a scholarly reputation gained by the neglect of official duties. But his many-sided activities made themselves equally felt in his public and in his private life. Condemned by ill-health to isolation in the Himalayas throughout his whole Indian career, far away from books, and shut off from the inspiring sympathy of brother students, he used his solitude as a vantage-ground for original research. The situation which would have been another man's despair, he turned into an unique opportunity. He proved to all who may come after him that neither loneliness nor ill-health, nor personal peril, nor harassing public cares, need preclude a true worker in India from rendering great services to scholarship and winning an enduring fame.

Brian Houghton Hodgson was born at Lower Beech, in the parish of Prestbury, Cheshire, on February 1st, 1800. He came of a long-lived stock, and was the fourth in succession of four Brian Hodgsons whose lives extended

from 1709 to 1894. The average age of his three immediate progenitors and their wives amounted to eighty-five years each, and he himself died at the ripe age of ninety-four.[1] He used to say modestly that his ancestors were remarkable for nothing unless it was for their longevity and love of field sports. The earliest surviving of the family pictures, a full-length portrait of a forefather five generations back by Vandermyn in 1728, now in the possession of Sir Arthur Hodgson of Clopton, represents a striking-looking man holding a gamecock. His descendant, the subject of this book, was an enthusiastic student of all wild creatures, and in spite of bad accidents he hunted with two packs of hounds till nearly seventy years of age.

The grandfather, Brian No. 2 in the subjoined list, figures as a man of considerable property in Derbyshire. For some time he lived at Wootten Lodge, Staffordshire, "a fine old castellated mansion," according to the District History, "said to have been designed by Inigo Jones."[2] Wootten Lodge was famous in the seventeenth century for its Royalist defence against the Parliamentary troops, and down to the middle of the eighteenth for its well-stocked deer-park of one thousand acres. But it is now best remembered as the favourite retreat of Jean Jacques Rousseau during his sojourn in England. David Hume had procured for the philosopher the neighbouring house of Wootten Hall at a nominal rent, "an agreeable and

[1] Brian Hodgson (1st), great-grandfather, died 1784 aged 75.
Elizabeth his wife . . . . . „ 1806 „ 90.
Brian Hodgson (2nd), grandfather . „ 1827 „ 85.
Ellen his wife . . . . . „ 1830 „ 91.
Brian Hodgson (3rd), father . . „ 1858 „ 92.
Catherine his wife . . . . . „ 1851 „ 75.
BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, born 1800, „ 1894 „ 94.
Average of the 6 previous lives and his own (7) 86 years. ——
Total 602

[2] *The History and Topography of Ashbourn and the Valley of the Dove* (Dawson & Hobson, Ashbourn, 1839), p. 253.

sequestered asylum," says Jean Jacques, "where I hope to breathe freely and at peace." The quaint and romantic gardens of Wootten Lodge were Rousseau's daily resort, and a seat was long pointed out under the shelter of the rockery at the back of the house, on which he loved to meditate and write.

Grandfather Brian,[1] who dwelt in this pleasant abode from 1781 to 1788, seems to have been a typical country gentleman of his time, kept a well-known pack of greyhounds, commanded the yeomanry cavalry for many years, and received a handsome presentation of plate on retiring from the regiment. His sister Margaret married in 1765 Dr. Beilby Porteus, successively Bishop of Chester and of London. Another member of the family, Robert Hodgson, became Dean of Carlisle and Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square. They were all on terms of close intimacy, and the Dean eventually wrote the Life of the Bishop. Both the Dean and Bishop lived into the present century, and the young Brian (our Brian) spent many happy days of his boyhood at the Bishop's palace at Fulham, and at the Dean's house in London.

His father, Brian No. 3 in the list, born 1766, was brought up to no profession. At the age of thirty, having married[2] a beautiful girl of twenty, Catherine, daughter of William Houghton, Esq., of Manchester and Newton Park in the county of Lancashire, he settled down to a country life in Cheshire. Children soon began to fill his home at Lower Beech. BRIAN HOUGHTON, the second child and eldest son, was born four years after the marriage, in 1800. Among his earliest recollections were his father's return from hunting in a scarlet coat, and his grandfather after a cock-fight with his hands covered with blood and feathers. It was a house full of dogs, and two favourite hounds Ringwood and Watchman, born and bred on the

[1] Brian Hodgson of Swinscoe near Ashbourn, described in the District History as "Brian Hodgson, Esquire, of Ashbourn" (*Idem.*, p. 371).

[2] In the Collegiate Church in Manchester on May 16th, 1796.

place, were long-remembered playfellows of Brian's childhood.

In an unlucky hour the easy-going country gentleman looked round on the young group growing up about him, and thought he must bestir himself to better their fortunes. He entered into partnership with a cousin Hawkins in a bank at the neighbouring town of Macclesfield. After some years of affluence the bank failed, owing, it was said, to a too spirited support of Irish mining enterprises. The ruined father faced his shipwreck like a man, broke up the house at Lower Beech, and moved first to Macclesfield and then to Congleton. Young Brian suddenly found the home of his childhood disappear, leaving behind it only a dim impression of some great calamity which overshadowed his boyhood.

The father, although he met his reverses with courage, had not the qualities which enable a broken gentleman to make a fresh start in middle life. Children still increased in the wandering household, until the tale of seven—three sons and four daughters—was complete.[1] Fortunately the family had connections able and willing to hold out a helping hand. But even if the wind be tempered to the shorn lamb, it bites shrewdly. It was the mother's force of character that carried her husband through those dark years. Mrs. Hodgson, a county toast and one of the "Lancashire witches" in her youth, retained traces of a refined loveliness to her old age. In her home her influence reigned supreme, an influence curiously compounded of the old strict enforcement of parental authority and of the children's admiration for a beautiful young mother who exercised a fascination over distinguished men. Her immediate neighbours in the new abode at Congleton, Mr. Maxey Pattison and his brother James, became her devoted friends, and used their patronage to launch her

[1] (1) Catherine, born 1798; (2) Brian Houghton, 1800; (3) Ellen, 1802; (4) William Edward John, 1805; (5) Ann Mary, 1808 (died young); (6) Frances Martha, 1810; (7) Edward Legh, 1813.

sons in honourable careers. She carried on a lifelong correspondence with several of the minor celebrities of her day, two of whom—Professor William Smyth of Cambridge, the historian,[1] and the polished and scholarly Earl of Clarendon[2]—were destined to exercise an influence on young Brian and his fortunes.

Professor Smyth had known reverses, not altogether dissimilar to her own. The son of a wealthy banker whom the war between France and England in 1793 stripped of his fortune, William Smyth unexpectedly found himself compelled to earn a livelihood without a profession at the age of twenty-seven. He accepted the post of tutor to the eldest son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, accompanied the youth to Cambridge, and there himself studied with such success as to win a high place in the list of Wranglers. In 1806 he sprang into fame by his volume of British Lyrics, and in 1809 was appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, a chair which he ably filled for forty years. His portrait, drawn and published by Josiah Slater, shows a gentle intellectual face, not devoid of *esprit*. With this middle-aged poet and leisurely man of letters, Mrs. Hodgson, then in the prime of her young matronly beauty, formed an enduring and graceful friendship. His letters proved his admiration for her bright intelligence, and one of his cleverest writings was a little pamphlet entitled an Occasional Lecture, "prompted by the desire of a lady to hear his academical discourses," half a century before the girl graduate dawned upon our Universities. It is an eulogium on woman, full of humour and varied learning, dated 1814, and printed privately in 1840.

Brian, the first boy, was the mother's favourite child. He used to say that, although hers was a discipline of love, it *was* a discipline. She imbued her sons with a high idea of womanhood, and as they grew up instilled into them

[1] Born 1766; 8th Wrangler, 1797; died 1849.

[2] Thomas, 2nd Earl: born 1753; died *unm.* 1824.

a chivalrous reverence for all women as women. Brian's high and courteous bearing, which was so striking a charm of his personality through life, he acquired from his mother. In the height of his reputation as a diplomatist and scholar he shared with her his inmost thoughts, writing to her always with a deferential tenderness very graceful in a grown-up and famous son. His letters to his sister Fanny, penned from his solitude in the Himalayas, will supply some interesting pages to this book. Brian was a tall and manly boy, and the mother looked absurdly young by his side. She used to say that the finest compliment ever paid her was by a mill-girl near Macclesfield, who remarked as the mother and son passed, "What'n a pretty lass yonder lad has gott'n!"

While the family were moving from place to place in quest of a fresh start in life, all England was arming to defend her shores from a French invasion. Mr. Hodgson during the days of his wealth had borne his part as a loyal country gentleman, and in 1814 the Earl of Clarendon obtained for him the post of guardian of the Martello Towers, then fortified against the expected landing. The wandering household settled down at Clacton near Colchester, in Essex,[1] and the father's sterling merits, together with the more shining qualities of his wife, soon won friends around their new home.

During their period of eclipse Brian had been sent to Dr. Davis' school at Macclesfield, which at that time had a considerable repute. Brian, a big boy for his age, did his best to uphold its reputation in town-fights with the lads of the borough school. Among his favourite comrades in mischief were Jodrell of Henbury, and John Nicholson of Balrath, one of the first Irish squires who, in spite of his kindly and generous character, suffered boycotting in the old days. Nicholson wrote a pretty Horatian ode to his "Dulcis Amicus" Hodgson on their parting in April 1814.

[1] The family afterwards removed to Canterbury, and lived there for many years.

Brian took the lead in games, and made his mark especially in cricket which he afterwards taught to his escort at the Court of Nepal. He also owed to Dr. Davis the careful grounding and thoroughness in work by which he was presently to win distinction in more advanced schools, and which he carried into every pursuit of his mature life. About the age of fourteen he was sent to Dr. Delafosse's seminary at Richmond, Surrey, and there completed his short school education at sixteen.

Those two years were among the happiest of his life. His holidays were spent at his relative's the Dean of Carlisle in London, or in shooting and hunting in Essex. He always seems to have been able to obtain a mount, either from his father's modest stable or from some country neighbour's better-filled stalls, and he established a reputation as a bold and fearless rider. On one of his visits to his boy friends the Nassaus at St. Ozeth's Priory near Colchester, a hunter was brought round but declared unmanageable. The groom, however, said that he thought young Mr. Hodgson could ride the horse, and he would warrant it leading the field. And so Brian did, won the brush, and came home with his cheeks painted red to his anxious and delighted father, who met him on the door-steps with open arms. He and his sister Ellen used to scour the country on their ponies, and became favourites with the jolly farmers and yeomen of Essex, then in the height of their prosperity with wheat at war-prices.

His great-uncle, the Bishop of London, had expressed a desire that his nephew's eldest son should be destined to the Church. But the aged prelate died[1] when Brian was in his tenth year, and although his other relative the Dean of Carlisle's influence also pointed to the same profession, the spirited lad found that it was one for which he had no calling. When Brian reached sixteen the question was disposed of by a generous offer from Mr. James Pattison,

[1] On May 13th, 1809.—*Life of the Rt. Rev. Beilby Porteus, D.D., Bishop of London*, by Dr. Robert Hodgson, Dean of Carlisle, p. 255. Ed. 1821.

the family friend and neighbour at Congleton. In 1816 Mr. Pattison was a Director of the East India Company, of which he became Chairman two years later. He secured a nomination for his old friend's son to the Company's Civil Service, and Brian, having passed a successful examination, was allowed to enter Haileybury College nearly a twelvemonth before attaining the regulation age of seventeen.

This change in 1816 marks the end of Brian Hodgson's schooldays. It may be well to pause before entering on the new career which then opened to him, and dwell for a moment on the other members of the home circle from which he was soon to be separated. The mother's influence seems to have given a charm to the daughters, and her character a force to the sons, which led to a successful establishment in life for all her children. The eldest daughter, Catherine, born 1798, married Mr. Laurence George Brown and settled prosperously in Canada. The second daughter, Ellen, born 1802, married Huibert Gerard Baron Nahuys van Burgst, a Major-General in the Dutch Army. She accompanied her husband to Java, where he held high offices as Resident at the Court of Surakarta and Member of the Council of Netherlands India.[1] Baron Nahuys' sister was the wife of Count Schimmelpenninck, the Grand Pensionary of Holland. We have had a glimpse of this Ellen (Baroness Nahuys) as Brian's companion on his wild cross-country rides in Essex. She grew into a woman of remarkable beauty, and was long known at the Court of Holland as La Belle Anglaise. She lived to the age of eighty, leaving a son and three daughters who married into families in the Netherlands.[2] In her widowed old age Brian made his house her home, and watched over her with fraternal piety during her last illness (1878).

[1] His remarkable and brilliant services form the subject of an interesting Dutch family history: *Reminiscences of the Public and Private Life* (1799—1849) *of H. G. Baron Nahuys van Burgst* (Arnhem, 1858).

[2] The son left three daughters, Helen, Huberta, and Fanny, who are now the representatives of this branch of the Houghton Hodgsons.

The third daughter, Ann, born 1808, died in girlhood. The fourth, Frances, born 1810, was the "Dearest Fanny" with whom Brian kept up an affectionate correspondence throughout their whole lives. His affection was warmly reciprocated. "Though but a child of eight when he went to India, in 1818," writes one of the family, "and although they did not meet again till 1844, yet she was brought up by her mother (who herself idolised her eldest son) to think there was no one like Brian. Her admiration for her brother and her devotion to him were absolute. She always spoke of him as 'the most perfect of human beings!'" We shall see with what pathetic playfulness Brian tried by his letters during his long absence in India to warm that admiration for an almost unknown ideal into a human affection for an exile pining for sisterly love. She married Pierre Baron Nahuys, the son of General Huibert Nahuys by a previous wife, and therefore a step-son of her sister Ellen. The Baron Pierre had a distinguished career, and became Governor of Overyssel, one of the Seven Provinces of Holland.

Of the three sons, Brian the eldest forms the subject of this book. The second son, William, born 1805, entered the Bengal Artillery, and died as a young Major of great promise. Brian was devotedly attached to him, and we shall find the two brothers together at the Residency at Nepal. The third brother and youngest child, Edward Legh Hodgson, born 1813, obtained an appointment to the East India Company's Civil Service, through the influence of the same family friend, Mr. James Pattison, who had given Brian his nomination sixteen years previously. Edward was at Haileybury from 1829 to 1831, and carried off seven prizes during his three terms.[1] He served in India as Assistant Commissioner of Meerut from 1832 to 1835, and died there on July 3rd of the latter year.

[1] *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, by F. C. Danvers, Sir M. Monier-Williams, Sir Steuart Bayley, Percy Wigram, and other contributors (Constable & Co., 1894), p. 397.

I have presented the several sisters and brothers at the outset, as the following pages will deal almost exclusively with the work of Brian himself, cut off from his kindred during the next quarter of a century by a third of the circumference of the globe. Yet in order to understand the man it is necessary to bear in mind the background of home life which was always present in his memory. During his long isolation in Nepal, that well-loved family group seemed to stand out for him with an ever-increasing distinctness. The recollections of the patient father who had borne the buffets of fortune, of the brilliant young mother with her circle of distinguished and admiring friends, of his sisters and brothers, half of whom were to die young while the other half were to be scattered over the old and new hemispheres—these were the recollections which during twenty-five years supplied the human links between the solitary worker among the Himalayas and the outward world.

CHAPTER II.

OLD HAILEYBURY: 1816—1817.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE, which Brian Hodgson entered in 1816, was not unworthy of the magnificent design of its founders. It formed the embodiment in stone and lime of the East India Company's resolve to govern well the empire which they had won. From 1600 down to the second half of the eighteenth century the Company's servants, alike in England and in India, had been sea-captains, merchants, and mercantile clerks. Their territorial conquests from 1757 onwards demanded an entirely different class of men. But the necessity of making the "annual investment" wherewith to pay an annual dividend for some time obscured the change which had taken place. A generation of officials passed away before the Court of Directors definitely realised that they had grown into the Sovereign Power in India, and that their main function was government rather than trade.

It was not until the year 1800 that a regular institution was formed for the training of the civil servants of the Company. This institution, known as the College of Fort William, was established by the far-seeing Marquis Wellesley in Calcutta. The Court of Directors, however, considered its scope too wide, sanctioned it only on a reduced scale, and determined to create a place of education of their own in England for their young civil servants. Their intention, expressed in 1802, received effect in 1805 by the purchase of the Haileybury estate in Hertfordshire for £5,900. The building was completed in 1809 at an esti-

mated cost of £50,000. During the intervening years from 1806, the new institution carried on its work temporarily at Hertford Castle under the title of the East India College Herts. In 1813 Parliament enacted that it shall not be lawful for the Court of Directors to nominate, appoint, or send to the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, any person in the capacity of Writer, unless such person shall have been duly entered at Haileybury College, and have resided there four terms, and shall produce a certificate of having during the period duly conformed himself to the rules and regulations of the same.[1]

While the entrance into the Company's administrative service was thus restricted to young men specially trained at Haileybury, the doors of Haileybury were jealously guarded. The nominations to the covenanted Civil Service formed the most valuable patronage exercised by the Directors of the East India Company, and the chief share of it naturally fell to their relatives or intimate friends. But the long list of their nominees proves that, outside their immediate family circles, it was exercised in a noble spirit. Many a Director conscientiously used his patronage as a solatium to officers worn out in the Company's wars, and hard pressed to find an opening for their sons. The scars and buffets of his father's ill-requited service formed John Lawrence's chief recommendation for Haileybury, and gave to India the future saviour of the Punjab. From the hour that a lad entered the College it impressed on him the lesson of integrity which the earlier servants of the Company had found so hard to learn. No youth was admitted without two certificates: one as to his personal character;

[1] Act 53 Geo. III. c. 155, quoted in *Memorials of Old Haileybury College* (Constable, 1894), p. 18. The minimum residence was afterwards reduced to three terms (a year and a half), or in times of urgency even to two terms. During a considerable period, students above the age of eighteen who obtained certificates of High Distinction might proceed to India after only two terms.

the other, a solemn declaration that the Director who had given his nomination made no pecuniary gain by the transaction.

In 1816 the professional staff of the College consisted chiefly of Cambridge men. It was therefore with peculiar pleasure that Professor William Smyth of that University undertook to launch the eldest son of his fair correspondent in what was practically a coterie of his old college friends. He took Brian to Haileybury, and settled him as a guest in the house of Malthus, the Professor of Political Economy, until he should pass his entrance examination. Malthus was elected a Fellow of Jesus in 1793, the year that William Smyth entered at Cambridge. The Rev. Joseph Hallet Batten, a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, and a high Wrangler as well as an excellent classic, had been appointed Principal of Haileybury College in 1815. The Dean was the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas,[1] fourth Wrangler in 1800, and also a Fellow of Trinity. The Rev. Henry Walter, a second Wrangler and one of the most genial of men, had just joined as Professor of Chemistry and Natural History,[2] and perhaps gave an impulse to Brian's taste for the study of beasts and birds which was to become one of his main pleasures throughout life.

Malthus[3] received his friend's *protégé* kindly, and for a season retained him as his guest. The foundation of an intimacy was thus laid which for the first time turned the young student into a thinker, and brought him into

[1] Appointed Professor of Mathematics in 1813; Dean 1814; Principal (in succession to Dr. Batten) 1838.

[2] In 1816.

[3] Thomas Robert Malthus, born 1766; Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1793 (not 1797); issued his first *Essay on the Principles of Population* 1798, and the greatly altered edition 1803; Professor of History and Political Economy at the East India College, Herts, 1805—1834; issued his Corn-Law Pamphlets 1814-15, his *Inquiry into the Nature of Rent* 1815, and his *Principles of Political Economy* 1820; died 1834.

contact with eminent men. Malthus had then reached the height of his fame, and his house formed a resort of the intellectual Whigs of the day. Lord Jeffrey and the Edinburgh Reviewers, Sir James Mackintosh (who became Professor of Law at Haileybury two years later[1]), and statesmen of higher if more temporary note were frequent visitors to the Haileybury philosopher. It happened that the period of Brian's residence there was one of great literary activity even in Malthus' busy life. For he was recasting the rent sections for the seventh edition of his *Principles of Population* (1817), and full of the ideas to be embodied in his crowning work on Political Economy published in 1820.

But the unique position which Malthus held in the College did not altogether depend on his reputation with the outer world. One of the original professors appointed in 1805, he had acted as its literary champion,[2] and was at this very time preparing his final rejoinder to its opponents. He was not only the most famous member of the teaching staff, but he was also the public representative of the system with which the professors and students were alike identified. His sweetness of temper that served as an armour against the bitterness of theological opponents—"one of the serenest and most cheerful" of men, says Miss Martineau—and his nobility of aim which never sought personal preferment, made him both the favourite and the hero of Haileybury College. His friendship was the best passport for a newcomer, and Brian found himself at once within the family circle of the professorial staff.

In after-life Hodgson used to relate how he sat silent in a corner many an evening, listening to the talk of distinguished men whose names he had previously only known through the newspapers. On one occasion Lord

[1] From 1818 to 1824.

[2] *e.d. Letter to Lord Granville* (in defence of the East India College), 1813; *Statements respecting the East India College*, 1817.

Jeffrey[1] had been induced to read out an article which praised the language of Shakespeare as rich but never diffuse. The company, suspecting that Jeffrey was the author, agreed as to Shakespeare, yet with a malign pleasantry wished they could say as much for the somewhat ornate style of the reviewer. Jeffrey quietly read out again a concluding passage of his article containing Ænobarbus' description of Cleopatra's galley:—

> "The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
> Burnt on the water; the poop was beaten gold:
> Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
> The winds were love-sick with them. The oars were silver,
> Which to the tune of lutes kept stroke."

"You see," said Jeffrey, "that *though* the sails were purple and the oars silver, they wafted her not less swiftly than if they had been made of homespun and deal. Gentlemen, *I* wrote the article." Upon which all the company laughed and clapped their hands. I repeat the story as Hodgson told it more than half a century afterwards. It formed one of his cherished bits of jetsam from the *Disputationes Haileyburienses* to which the kindness of Malthus gained him admission.

The new impulse given to Hodgson's mental activity was of rather a discursive character. But from the outset he showed an aptitude for the native languages, and obtained a prize for Bengali at the end of his first term (May 1816). During his second year he brought home to his delighted mother the prize for classics (May 1817), and continued to win a prize for Bengali at each of his half-yearly examinations during his stay at the College. In December 1817 he passed out of Haileybury as gold medallist and head of his term.

Haileybury was not designed to supply a strictly professional training to the East India Company's civil servants. It carried further their previous school-studies in classics

[1] I give him the title by which he is most generally known, although Jeffrey was not promoted to the Scottish Bench until 1834.

and mathematics. It also grounded them in the general principles of law and political economy, and in the history and languages of India. The higher instruction in these last-named branches it left to the College of Fort William in Bengal, or to corresponding studies in Madras and Bombay. But the residence at Haileybury did for the young Indian civilians what no system or device had ever done for them before. It bred up and knit together a service with a strong and honourable *esprit de corps*, a knowledge of each other's characters, and a mutual trust. Some of Hodgson's intimates at Haileybury became, as we shall see, rulers of great provinces. Many of them continued his friends through life. Whatever its later shortcomings, the essential service rendered by Haileybury to the nation was this—that during half a century when India could only be held by a compact, self-reliant, and honest British bureaucracy, it produced the compactest, most self-reliant, and most honest bureaucracy which the world had ever seen.

One of Hodgson's fellow-students, Charles Fraser, was destined to render good service as the Governor-General's Agent, that is as political ruler, in the Sagar and Narbada Territories. Another, William Dampier, besides holding many high offices, practically created the police of Bengal. A third, Sir George Clerk,[1] became for a short time Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and twice Governor of Bombay. A fourth, Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., was Foreign Secretary to the Government of India during the great Sikh struggle under Lord Hardinge, Resident at Lahore under Lord Dalhousie, and one of the most influential Members of his Council. Both Clerk and Currie, after their retirement from India, rendered valuable service for many years on the Council of the Secretary of State, and both of them continued warm friends of Hodgson to the end of their long lives. Another of his best-loved

[1] G.C.S.I. and K.C.B.

Haileybury companions, the Honourable Frederick Shore, closed a career of high promise, and of some achievement, by a too early death. Curiously enough, sons of the two civilian Governors-General of India, Lord Teignmouth and Sir George Barlow, entered Haileybury in the same year as Brian Hodgson, and the three went to Calcutta in 1818.

Four other Bengal civilians who attained to high eminence overlapped Brian's residence at the College: John Lowis, one of Lord Dalhousie's Members of Council; Ross Donelly Mangles, Secretary to the Bengal Government, and after his retirement a Member of the Court of Directors and of the Council of the Secretary of State; Sir Henry Ricketts, K.C.S.I., a Member of Council under Lord Hardinge; and Sir Robert Hamilton, K.C.B., the Governor-General's Agent in Central India during the Mutiny, who had the courage to override the orders of the Governor-General on the memorable occasion of March 1858.

I have particularised the foregoing members of the service as all of them went, like Brian Hodgson, to Bengal, and continued his friends throughout his career. Other distinguished officers, including Sir Daniel Elliott and Sir John Pollard Willoughby, who were with him at Haileybury went to Madras and Bombay. But with few exceptions these soon fell out of his knowledge.

The life at Haileybury seems to have somewhat resembled that at the Universities during the same period, except that there was rather less dissipation and a more direct control. Hodgson frequently got a day's hunting, and he seems to have enjoyed a good deal of hospitality from the families in the neighbourhood. The Lady Salisbury of that time took notice of the lad one day when he was struggling on a hired horse to keep in the first flight with the hounds, and her balls at Hatfield were among the most brilliant recollections of his Haileybury days. But it was the distinguished statesmen who from time to time complimented the College by a visit that impressed themselves most deeply on his memory. On one occasion the family friend, Mr. James

Pattison[1] who had given Brian his nomination, and who was also an intimate friend of George Canning, came down with the celebrated Minister to Haileybury and brought him into young Hodgson's room. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, was full of the thoughts of Indian imperial sway which made him accept the Governor-Generalship some years later.[2]

"He stood with his back to the fire," Hodgson used to relate, "and put his hand inside the breast of his coat, pouring forth words which fired my ambition. He drew a brilliant sketch of the career possible for an Indian civilian, showing how everything was open to a man of ability and industry up to the Governor-Generalship. Then telling me to read Orme and learn how India had been won, he took up the story himself, and in a quarter of an hour had given me a most masterly *résumé* of Indian history." Those fifteen minutes put ideas and aspirations into Brian's head which were destined to bear fruit in due season. The great Minister had touched the youth with the magic wand of his genius, and one touch sufficed.

During his holidays Brian was much at the house of his kinsman Robert Hodgson, Dean of Carlisle. The Dean, being also Rector of St. George's Hanover Square, resided most of the year in town, and having a clever wife, his house in Grosvenor Street was a popular one. Brian became a devoted admirer of the Dean's daughters, more especially of Henrietta who grew up into a woman of beauty and of social charms. He also spent many happy days in the quiet rectory of his uncle Edward

[1] Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors in 1817, when Hodgson was at Haileybury; Chairman in the following year, 1818, and again in 1822.

[2] On the news of the intended retirement of the Marquess of Hastings reaching England early in 1822. But before Canning sailed Lord Castlereagh's tragic death made it necessary that Canning should fill his place at the Foreign Office, and with many regrets he resigned the Governor-Generalship in the autumn of the same year. Lord Amherst went out instead.

Hodgson,[1] whose first wife, a highly accomplished musician, made Moore's Irish melodies an abiding memory for Brian: a memory that often came back to him in the loneliness of his Himalayan years. To his cousin the son of the Rector, and now Sir Arthur Hodgson of Clopton, I gratefully acknowledge my debt for interesting materials for this book. But Brian's own home, with its beautiful and talented mother, the generous patient father, and the spirited group of sisters and brothers now looking out like himself with expectant eyes upon the world, remained as ever the dominant chord in his life.

[1] Rector of Rickmansworth.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST YEAR IN INDIA.

CALCUTTA, 1818—1819.

HAVING passed out of Haileybury as medallist and head of his term in December 1817,[1] Brian Houghton Hodgson sailed in the following year round the Cape of Good Hope to Calcutta.

[1] His Haileybury certificate runs thus:—

"We, the Principal and Professors of the East India College, do hereby testify that Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson having been nominated a Student of the College by the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, has resided therein Four Terms, and has duly conformed himself to the Statutes and Regulations of the College.

"The said Brian Houghton Hodgson has also attended the Public Examinations of May 1816, in which he gained a prize in Bengalese, and passed with great credit in other departments; December 1816, in which he gained a prize in Bengalese, and was highly distinguished in other departments; May 1817, in which he gained a prize in Classics, a prize in Political Economy, a prize in Bengalese, and was highly distinguished in other departments; December 1817, in which he gained the medal in Classics, a prize in Bengalese, and was highly distinguished in other departments.

"The College Council, in consideration of his distinguished Industry, Proficiency, and Conduct, place him in the *First Class of Merit*; and assign him the *Rank of First* on the List of Students now leaving College for the Presidency of Fort William.

"Given under the College Seal, and signed in behalf of the College Council, this fifth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen."

Signed,

J. H. BATTEN, *Principal.*

Countersigned,

EDWARD LEWTON, *Registrar.*

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, 1817 – ÆTAT 17.

The Englishmen of those days started early in life. Hodgson was, after all, only a lad of seventeen, with enough of Latin and Greek to enable him to quote Horace or to make an iambic, a fair specimen of the sixth form boy at a public school in the present day. But he carried with him from Haileybury a habit of original observation which a sixth form boy rarely imbibes at our public schools. Its professorial system of imparting instruction by means of lectures, although compatible with a good deal of indolence and sham work, was highly stimulating to the keener class of youthful intellects. In the hands of Malthus political economy became a living science, dealing with the actual facts and needs of humanity, and quickening young minds with ideas instead of cramming them with formulæ.

Malthus was, in fact, the dominant influence in Hodgson's intellectual horoscope. He found him a young aristocrat in social feelings and sympathies; he left him an advanced liberal in politics. But for the inspiration of Malthus, the youthful civilian would scarcely have embarked on a comprehensive study of the institutions and constitutional problems of Nepal, or struck into the great conflict over popular education in India with a scheme of his own. How closely the lad had listened to Malthus' lectures, his prize in Political Economy at Haileybury attests. Hodgson to the end of his life used to sum up his political creed in a quotation, learned at Haileybury from Bacon's Essay of Innovations: "All this is true, if time stood still: which, contrariwise, moveth so round that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new."

The love of liberty and the generous respect for the liberties of others, with a belief in their capacity for exercising those liberties aright, which Malthus impressed on Hodgson's awakening mind, resisted the effacing influences of time and of a bureaucratic career. Even when, as a man

of eighty-six; Hodgson had to choose between the old liberalism now identified with the Unionist party in politics, and the new liberalism associated with Irish home-rule, he did not fear to take the plunge. Although living in a circle of Tory country-gentlemen, he followed Mr. Gladstone in all the later developments of that statesman's policy, and died with an unshaken belief in its results. This courageous belief in the future of humanity, and in the power of a people to work out its own salvation, gave a beautiful youthfulness to his old age. It furnishes the key to many of the activities of his life. If one had to differ from him as to its practical application, one could not withhold a feeling of reverence for the enthusiasm which years did not chill nor public disappointments daunt.

Meanwhile Hodgson was a young civilian not yet eighteen. The scheme of a junior civilian's training in those days included at least a year at the College of Fort William in Calcutta, for the further study of the native languages and of Indian law. Brian accordingly found himself a member of a small and close fraternity of very young men, who had a good deal of leisure on their hands and who were determined to enjoy it. The contemporary descriptions of their life are not always edifying. As a whole they seem to have been a body of spirited English lads let loose a little early in life, tasting sometimes too freely of the first pleasures of an independent income, and indulging in extravagances at which they afterwards smiled, but which crippled not a few for many a year. Calcutta society looked at their follies with a lenient eye, and made much of those who cared for its blandishments. For after all they were a well-spring of perpetual youth in a small official community which was apt to feel very weary; almost all of them had friends or relatives among the seniors; and each one of them had the possibilities of a brilliant career.

It is difficult for an Anglo-Indian of the present day to realise how small and how official Calcutta then was. The new Charter in 1813 had broken down the Company's

monopoly of the East India trade, while maintaining it as regards China. But the influx of independent merchants and capitalists who were to raise Calcutta to one of the commercial capitals of the world had scarcely set in. The non-official Englishman, unless he belonged to one of the half-dozen great agency houses closely united by family ties with the Services, was regarded as an inferior person. Under the old system, if a merchant or planter did not come out under the protection of the Company, he was an "Interloper" in the eye of the law. He still remained an interloper in the eye of society. On his part, he regarded the governing body with the jealousy, and sometimes with the injustice, of an outsider. A plate published in London in 1816, the year that Hodgson entered Haileybury, shows the pagoda tree as "Exhausted," but with Indian officials still eagerly clambering up the mutilated stem, which an elephant is breaking off at the root.

A period of rapid fortunes in India had given place to one of commonplace ostentation. The depravity of the "nabobs" of the last century, whom Burke and Sheridan scourged—sometimes laying the lash on the wrong shoulders as is the way with orators—had been followed by the dull and pompous officials over whom Thackeray, himself the son and grandson of Bengal civilians, made savage laughter. Barwell bawling to his footmen to "bring round more curricles" was succeeded in English literature by the fatuous coward Josh. Sedley, and by Binnie the plethoric cynic. Sedley is Thackeray's portrait of the ignoble class of Bengal civilians of the pre-Haileybury type, which still supplied some of the leaders of Calcutta society at the time of Hodgson's arrival.

Haileybury, and the aims which Haileybury represented, had during the preceding twelve years done something to improve upon that type. But although the Indian services then, as at all times, produced high-minded and able men, and administrators who have never

been surpassed, the general tone of Calcutta society remained much more orientalised than it now is. India was a place of exile to a degree which we of the present day can scarcely understand, and the exiles found far fewer interests outside the routine of their ordinary work. The alleviations of Indian existence which we regard as matters of course—a cheap and abundant supply of ice, the European telegrams every morning at breakfast in varied and well-written newspapers, the weekly mail from England with its budget of letters and new books, the summer trip to the hills, and the inexpensive frequent holiday home—were all unknown to our forerunners in Bengal at the beginning of the century.

On the other hand they had the hookah, the heavy midday meal, and the still heavier afternoon sleep. English ladies, although more numerous than formerly, had not yet acquired an absolute predominance in Calcutta, or completely imposed their social standards. Some of the great Calcutta houses have wings or annexes which are still pointed out as the native female apartments of those days. Calcutta society, which now strikes a newcomer as bright and friendly, only left an impression of weariness in the memoirs of a century ago. Macaulay's recollections of the Calcutta dinner-parties as combining the dulness of a State banquet and the confusion of a shilling ordinary refer to a period not long after Hodgson's arrival.

This unattractive picture of Anglo-Indian society in its earlier developments is borne out by contemporary accounts from widely different hands. It was the P. and O. Company that Europeanised the social life of Calcutta. Indeed the struggle between Eastern and Western influences upon the habits and standards of our countrymen in India forms not the least curious chapter in the history of our Asiatic rule. Even towards the end of the transition stage, the stage contemporary with Brian Hodgson's service in India, the tone was widely different from what it now is. The

Bombay Courier for 1830,[1] the letters of a lady written from Madras a few years afterwards,[2] and the Rev. Charles Acland's experiences in Bengal from 1842 onward, tell the same dull unflattering tale.[3] Henry Martin records[4] some striking examples of Indianised Englishmen in the decade preceding Hodgson's arrival.

One of the forgotten benefits conferred by Haileybury upon Anglo-Indian society was its tendency to stamp the old indulgences as bad form. For Haileybury disciplined the young civilians in the use of comparative liberty, and imbued them in some measure with the responsibilities which attach to independence. They came out to India with much the same feeling in regard to the more vulgar forms of dissipation as that of undergraduates at the Universities in their third year. Hodgson, who always remembered his mother's look of disgust when gentlemen who had drunk more than enough lurched into her drawing-room after dinner, did not find orgies amusing. He used to tell how, on arriving in Calcutta, the colonel of a crack regiment and his fellow-passenger on the voyage asked him to dine at mess. No sooner was the cloth removed than several large cases of wine, which the hospitable colonel had brought out with him, were deposited on the floor. The host then locked the door, put the key into his pocket, and, turning to the company, said, "There, gentlemen, is your night's work." Before the evening was over, most of the gallant entertainers and their guests were under the table. But the colonel magnanimously allowed Hodgson to pass the bottle on the score of his youth, and did not oblige him to sit out the revel.

[1] Quoted in Dr. George Smith's *Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.*, p. 54.

[2] *Letters from Madras during the Years* 1836—1839, by a Lady. John Murray, 1843.

[3] *A Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of India*, by the Rev. Charles Acland, late Chaplain of Cuttack.

[4] Letter dated March 14th, 1808.—*Henry Martin*, by George Smith, LL.D., pp. 221, 222. Ed. 1892.

Hodgson soon found friends of another sort. His aunt, the Dean's wife, had Indian connections and gave him introductions to them. Two of these, Sir Charles and Lady D'Oyly, took a liking to the young man, and made their house his home. Sir Charles belonged to a family which has enjoyed an almost hereditary distinction among Bengal civilians. He himself had the accomplishments of a man of taste, sketched cleverly in water-colours, and was the leading dilettante in Calcutta society of that day. His father, Sir John D'Oyly of Shottisham, M.P., the sixth Baronet, retrieved the family fortunes by Indian service. Curiously enough, he held in the previous generation the same office to which his son and successor Sir Charles was appointed in the year that Hodgson reached India—the controllership of customs in Calcutta.

Sir Charles, the seventh Baronet, rose during the course of his forty years' service to high positions in Bengal, but it was as a man of brilliant talents, rather than as an administrator, that he formed the delight of his contemporaries. The Marquess of Hastings, then Governor-General, was so charmed with him that he resolved to bring him on his personal staff. A commission in the Calcutta Militia enabled Lord Hastings to appoint him Honorary Aide-de-Camp, in addition to his civil duties. D'Oyly took up his residence in Government House in that capacity, and married one of two beautiful sisters, second cousins of Lady Hastings,[1] who were also staying in the house. The other sister married the young officer who became General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert. It was not only in the gay world that Sir Charles D'Oyly played a leading part. Bishop

[1] The Marchioness of Hastings was Countess of Loudon in her own right. Her second cousin, Elizabeth Jane Ross, who married Sir Charles D'Oyly, was the daughter of Major Thomas Ross, R.A. I am indebted here and elsewhere to the admirable Family Book of the D'Oylys, unpublished, in the possession of the present Sir Charles D'Oyly of Dorsetshire. Sir Charles has also a portrait of his predecessor, the seventh baronet and Hodgson's friend, as a strikingly handsome man in the uniform of the Calcutta Militia, *temp. circ.* 1814.

Heber describes him as "the best gentleman artist I ever met with," rich in the then rare gift of seeing the beautiful and the picturesque in Indian rural life.[1] In 1818 he was thirty-seven years of age, and in the prime of his productive energy. During the preceding five years he had published the volumes[2] of sketches and letterpress, one of them engraved from his original drawings by John Landseer, which made D'Oyly's fame in England. He dashed off trifles—portraits, hunting scenes, and caricatures—for his friends with a never-failing flow of humour, and Hodgson cherished a portfolio of D'Oyly's sketches made during his early days in Calcutta.

Lady D'Oyly had also a clever pencil, and a light touch scarcely to be distinguished from that of her husband. She was one of the first Englishwomen whose portraits of ladies of the Indian zananas have come down to us. In 1818 she was a charming woman of twenty-nine, spirited and with a noble heart. She conceived for Hodgson a friendship which lasted unbroken during fifty-seven years, until her death in 1875. The eleven years of difference in their age gave her the influence of a fascinating and mature young woman over Hodgson's adolescence, and helped to form his mind and ideals—one of the most valuable experiences that can happen to a man on his entrance into life. When Hodgson retired from India forty years afterwards, no summer passed without an interchange of hospitalities. Her annual visit of a month to his house at Alderley was kept up as long as her health allowed her to leave home. She became in turn the dear and trusted friend of both the ladies whom he married, and retained for the old man of seventy-five the same generous interest and

[1] Heber's *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, 1824-25, Vol. I., p. 314. John Murray, Ed. 1828.

[2] *The European in India*, 1813; *Antiquities of Dacca*, with engravings by John Landseer from Sir Charles D'Oyly's drawings, 1814-15. His subsequent works were *Tom Raw, the Griffin: a Burlesque Poem*, 1828, and *Sketches on the New Road in a Journey from Calcutta to Gyah*, 1830.

admiration which she had accorded to the bright youth of eighteen. Her portrait, in the collection of General Sir Charles D'Oyly, represents a tall aristocratic woman past middle life, with finely cut features and a look of firm intelligence almost amounting to command.

As an inmate of the D'Oyly's house, Hodgson found himself among the pleasantest set in Calcutta. In a dull society, clever and agreeable people defend themselves from the circumambient mass by means of coteries. Lady D'Oyly's coterie was the most brilliant, and in its way the most exclusive of her time—exclusive not as regards social position, for there is a frank equality among the Indian services, but in the more serious matter of the exclusion of bores. It was fortunate for Hodgson that during his first year in India, the only year he was ever to spend in Calcutta or in fact anywhere out of the wilds of Nepal, he had thus the opportunity of becoming known to the rising men of the Government, the men who were to grow into Chief Secretaries, Members of Council, and Governors of Provinces throughout his service. Lady D'Oyly's influence practically decided Hodgson's Indian career. The most attractive appointments in those days of conquest and annexation were political residentships and assistant-residentships at the Courts of the Native Princes. These appointments the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, kept in his own hand. Lady D'Oyly, as the close friend and relative of the Marchioness of Hastings, brought her handsome *protégé* into the inner circle of Government House, and opened for him the path to one of the most coveted positions for a young civilian when the opportunity arose.

Meanwhile Hodgson was pursuing his studies at the College of Fort William. The position which he had obtained as head of his year at Haileybury fired his ambition for further distinction, and he determined to read for honours in Sanskrit and the vernacular languages. But the first year in India is a trying one to an English constitution, and Hodgson did not in any way economise

himself. Always a pretty boy, he had now acquired that delicate beauty of face, very unusual in an Englishman, which renders his bust remarkable among the more massive marbles of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and London. He and his fast friend Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir Josias) Cloete appear in Sir Charles D'Oyly's sketches as types of the Calcutta dandies of the day, arrayed in the Regency fashion with high neckcloths and brass-buttoned coats, which must have been a purgatory to their wearers in Bengal. Hodgson predominated at balls, was a joyous spirit in the Tent Club, and then as ever rode in the first flight whether after a boar or a fox or a jackal. He also tried to wedge in a good deal of hard study between his social occupations, with the result of a serious breakdown in health. Fever laid hold of him with a grip that quinine could not loosen. In spite of careful nursing by his friends the D'Oylys, it seemed for a time that his Indian career must come to an end. "My medical adviser," wrote Hodgson in some brief autobiographical notes sixty-two years afterwards, "recommended me to throw up the service, and go home. 'Here,' said he, 'is your choice—six feet underground, resign the service, or get a hill-appointment.'"

To return an invalid on the hands of the father who had struggled so hard to set him forth in life seemed to Hodgson worse than death. The family troubles of his early years had sunk deeply into his mind, and from the day he left England he was resolved never to cost a penny to the heavily burdened parents at home. Indeed the recollection of home often weighed so gravely on him that his gayer comrades of the Tent Club nicknamed him the young philosopher. But at that time a hill-appointment was almost an impossibility for a young civilian. Simla, Darjiling, Naini Tal, the pleasant summer capitals of modern India, were yet unknown. "Of hill-appointments," wrote Hodgson, "there were then in the Bengal Presidency only two" open to a junior civil servant—the assistant-

commissionership in Kumaun, and the assistant-residentship in Nepal. For a time it seemed as if "the six feet underground" were his only choice.

But he had already made friends in high places. His position as head of his year at Haileybury counted for something, the influence of Lady D'Oyly probably for a good deal more, and Hodgson found himself, to his surprise and delight, appointed assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaun. It was a narrow escape which left behind it the sobering effect of a liver disease not to be shaken off for many a year. Meanwhile he had to give up his purpose of reading for honours in the classical languages of India. He carried away, however, from the College of Fort William a grounding in Sanskrit, and left behind him a reputation for proficiency in Persian, which was afterwards to serve him in good stead.[1]

[1] "His career at the College was a highly satisfactory one, and he distinguished himself greatly by his zeal, assiduity, and successful study of the Persian language."—Rajendra Lala Mitra in his Preface to *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. iii. (Calcutta, 1882).

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST APPOINTMENT.

KUMAUN, 1819—1820.

THE frontier territory to which Hodgson was appointed had been conquered only four years previously, in 1815, by Lord Hastings who still kept it in a special manner under his eye. Situated among the outer ranges and spurs of the Himalayas, Kumaun then contained about 11,000 square miles, of which nearly 6,000 were mountain forests or wastes, while 3,000 were returned as "snow."[1] When the young invalid, after a month's palankeen journey up the hot valley of the Ganges—a journey which killed off many a promising liver patient in its day—at length reached the base of the hills, a broad belt of jungle and swamp seemed to block all further progress. Having forced his way through this upon an elephant, with the knowledge that a night's detention in it meant a return of fever in its most fatal form, he entered a region of waterless forests, without a spring, and deeply scarred by dry river beds. Thence he ascended into the network of hills and mountain valleys, about 4,000 feet above the sea, which was to be the scene of his first labours in India.

This was Hodgson's first lesson in the geography of Kumaun. The inner region forms a maze of mountains rising into peaks of eternal snow, 23,000 to 25,000 feet

[1] *Report on Kumaun for* 1822-23, by George William Traill, Commissioner for Kumaun affairs. Reprinted by order of the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces: *Official Reports on Kumaun*, Agra, 1851, p. 1. The above figures include the Garhwal district of the present Commissionership of Kumaun.

above sea-level, with perilous trade-passes of 16,000 to 18,000 feet northwards to Tibet. In Kumaun proper there are no plains; the base of one ridge generally touches the foot of the next, with only a narrow space for a torrent between. A gorge of half a mile in breadth is considered a fine cultivable valley. The waters from the melting snows pour down these gullies till they reach the Bhabar forest tract, formed of the loose detritus of the lower hills resting on a bed of hard clay. Here the streams sink underground through the porous alluvium, in some cases disappearing altogether for a space of nine or ten miles, in others dwindling into threads of water from the same cause. Having flowed unseen through the Bhabar forests, beneath the detritus of gravel and above the hard clay bed, the waters again emerge in springs and swamps which feed the lush vegetation of the swamp and forest belt known as the Tarai. Truly a region of extremes, rising with strange suddenness from the Indian plains, and one which profoundly impresses itself on the memory of every Englishman who has dwelt among it.

"I have seen much of European mountains," Sir John Strachey writes of Kumaun, where, like Hodgson, he spent some of the early years of his service, "but in stupendous sublimity, combined with a magnificent and luxuriant beauty, I have seen nothing that can be compared with the Himalaya. The Alpine vegetation of the Kumaun Himalayas, while far more luxuriant, closely resembles in its generic forms that of the Alpine regions of Europe. But after you have left the plains for 100 miles and have almost reached the foot of the great peaks, the valleys are still in many cases only 2,000 or 3,000 feet above the sea, conveying, as General Strachey says, 'the heat and vegetation of the tropics among ranges covered with perpetual snow.' 'Thus,' he adds, 'the traveller may obtain at a glance a range of vision extending from 2,000 to 25,000 feet, and see spread before him a compendium of the entire vegetation of the globe from the tropics to the

poles.' Something similar may be said of the animal world. Tigers, for instance, are common in the valleys; and it is not very unusual to see their footprints in the snow among oaks and pines and rhododendrons 8,000 to 10,000 feet above the sea.

"Among earthly spectacles, I cannot conceive it possible that any can surpass the Himalaya, as I have seen it at sunset on an evening in October from the ranges thirty or forty miles from the great peaks. One such view in particular, from Binsar in Kumaun, stands out vividly in my remembrance. This mountain is 8,000 feet high, covered with oak and rhododendron. Towards the north you look down over pine-clad slopes into a deep valley, where, 6,000 feet below, the Sarju runs through a tropical forest. Beyond the river it seems to the eye as if the peaks of perpetual snow rose straight up and almost close to you into the sky. From the bottom of the valley to the top of Nanda Devi you see at a glance almost 24,000 feet of mountain. The stupendous golden or rose-coloured masses and pinnacles of the snowy range extend before you in unbroken succession for more than 250 miles, filling up a third part of the visible horizon, while on all other sides, as far as the eye can reach, stretch away the red and purple ranges of the lower mountains. 'In a hundred ages of the gods,' writes one of the old Sanskrit poets, 'I could not tell you of the glories of Himachal.'"

Few influences exercise a more permanent effect on a young Indian civilian than the character and conduct of the first officer under whom he serves. The newcomer's standards of work, and his conceptions of duty towards the people around him, receive an impress at starting which is seldom afterwards effaced. This held true even in later times when civilians went out to India as grown-up men after a University career, some of them as distinguished Fellows of their College. It holds true to this day. A third of a century still leaves fresh in my memory the enthusiastic admiration which I had for some,

and the equally unqualified (although I now hope less deserved) contempt with which I regarded others, of the officers under whom I passed the opening years of my service.

Eighty years ago, when civilians joined their first appointment as mere lads, the personality of the man with whom they were first placed had an even greater influence. Their critical faculty with the habit of forming judgments for themselves had not so fully developed, and they insensibly adopted the methods, views, and idiosyncrasies of the senior who was their first instructor and guide. A working District Officer turned out a series of working assistants; a sporting District Officer made sporting assistants; a District Officer with a taste for revenue administration trained the men who were destined to conduct the land-settlement of provinces; while a District Officer who did what was right in his own eyes, with as little regard as possible to the central control, produced a useful stubborn breed who were prepared to fight for their own measures, or mistakes, against all the authority of distant Secretariats and Boards.

Brian Hodgson was fortunate in his first master. George William Traill, then Commissioner of Kumaun, formed one of the group of strong-handed administrators whom Lord Hastings' conquests developed. In order rightly to understand this type it must be remembered that the five years preceding 1819, when Hodgson went to Kumaun, had seriously tested the resources of the British power in India. Since Lord Moira, better known by his later title as the Marquess of Hastings, assumed the Governor-Generalship in 1813, he had been forced into three wars of the first magnitude. In 1814 and 1815 he conducted the two Nepalese campaigns which, after critical reverses to our troops, compelled Nepal to enter into a subsidiary alliance, and to cede to us the Himalayan States of which Kumaun formed part. In 1817 he hurled the strongest British force yet seen in India, numbering

120,000 men, against the Pindaris, and stamped out their bandit armies with a thoroughness which left no alternative but absolute submission or flight to the jungles, where one of the last of their leaders perished by a tiger. In 1818 he had to face the separate but simultaneous rising of the three great Maratha Powers at Poona, Nagpur, and Indore. He crushed them by battles sometimes fought in the teeth of tremendous odds, and annexed the territories which now form large portions of the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces.

It was a time that called forth strong men. Lord Hastings had re-made the map of India, and he needed civilians with courage and independence of resource to convert his disorderly conquests into peaceful British provinces. Among these administrators of the transition stage, Traill occupied a foremost place. One of the first-fruits of the Haileybury system,[1] he arrived in India in 1810, and after five years' service was appointed in 1815 assistant to the Honourable E. Gardner, the political officer with the Nepal expedition. Mr. Gardner had conducted the political business of the campaign, and at the end of it, in April 1815, he had the satisfaction to make the convention by which the Nepalese ceded to us the territories that included Kumaun.[2] He was appointed Commissioner of Kumaun, and Traill was posted as his assistant in May 1815. In 1816 Gardner was promoted to be the first Resident at the Court of Nepal. Traill succeeded him as Commissioner of Kumaun.

I have ventured to arrest the narrative by these details not without a reason. For Hodgson, as we shall see, was soon to be appointed as Gardner's assistant in Nepal, and was in due time to succeed him as Resident.

[1] George William Traill, Haileybury 1808-9; India 1810-36; died 1847.

[2] Mr. E. T. Atkinson's *Report on Kumaun*, dated August 31st, 1877, para. 60, from which the following dates in the text are also taken. The final and general treaty with Nepal was not ratified till after further hostilities in the following year (March 4th, 1816), as I shall afterwards explain.

Meanwhile Hodgson began to learn his business as a frontier administrator from a master who had a free hand and a perfect confidence in himself. George William Traill looked upon Kumaun very much as a principality of his own to which he had succeeded by conquest. He had been on the spot when it was taken over from its previous rulers. During twenty years one Governor-General after another let him have his own way, for on the whole it was a way of righteousness; and he set an example of personal government to succeeding Commissioners of Kumaun which, in spite of some inconveniences and occasional scandals, was only broken down in our own day.

The Governor-General might be ruler of India, but Traill was "King of Kumaun." The stamp of personal independence which he gave to its administration survived for seventy years, and its last great Commissioner, General Ramsay, was still known as "King of Kumaun," even under strong Viceroys like Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook. "Traill ruled absolutely till 1835,"[1] and he trained up successive assistants in the habit of thinking that a frontier administrator knew what was good for his territory much better than any distant central authorities. We shall see that this early formed conviction determined Brian Hodgson's action in the crisis of his diplomatic career; and under a Governor-General who by no means took that view.

It is difficult to imagine a more interesting work for a young and generous nature than that on which Hodgson now found himself launched. During seventy years Kumaun had suffered every misery of invasion, conquest, and revolution. In 1744 a horde of Afghan Musalmans known as the Rohillas seized the country from the Hindu dynasty which, according to its genealogists, ruled Kumaun from 700 A.D.[2] "Though their stay was short," wrote the

[1] *Report on Kumaun* by Mr. E. T. Atkinson, dated August 31st, 1877, para. 61.

[2] *Samvat*, 757. According to other authorities the Chand dynasty,

official annalist, "its ill results to the province are well and bitterly remembered, and its mischievous though zealously religious character is still attested by the noseless idols and trunkless elephants of some of the Kumaun temples."[1] After seven months of outrages upon the Hindu inhabitants, the Rohillas, disgusted with the rigours of the climate, accepted a bribe of £30,000, and returned to the plains. A second ineffectual invasion of Rohillas was followed by a period of internecine struggles in Kumaun itself,[2] and before 1780 the Hindu Rajas had lost all their lowland possessions except the Bhabar forest tract.

A worse calamity soon afterwards befell Kumaun. The Gurkhas, who made themselves masters of Nepal in the middle of the 18th century, resolved to push their conquests westward, and in 1790 invaded the Kumaun hills. During twenty-four years they oppressed Kumaun with such cruelty that "no sooner had the British forces entered the hills (in 1815) than the inhabitants began to join our camp, and bring in supplies of provisions for the troops."[3] "Their tyranny has passed into a proverb, and at the present time, when a native of these hills wishes to protest in the strongest language in his power against some oppression to which he has been subjected, he exclaims that 'for him the Company's rule has ceased, and that of the Gurkhas has been restored.'"[4]

which the Rohillas dispossessed in 1744, rose to power in the twelfth century A.D. Vikram Chand (circ. 1400) is alleged to have been the thirty-fourth ruler in succession from the founder, Som Chand, who, however, is placed by Batten, in his Report, as late as 1178 A.D. A mean between the extreme dates is generally taken for the commencement of the Chand dynasty in Kumaun—say the tenth century A.D.

[1] *Report on the Kumaun and Rohilkund Tarai*, by J. H. Batten, then Senior Assistant Commissioner (afterwards Commissioner) of Kumaun, dated October 9th, 1844, para. 8. Printed by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces: Agra, 1851.

[2] *Idem.*, paras. 9, 10.

[3] Mr. E. T. Atkinson's Report, dated August 31st, 1877, para. 57. This Report is printed in the volumes of the *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*.

[4] *Idem.*, para. 54.

The initial measures for converting this shattered principality into a British province were being taken at the time when Hodgson reached Kumaun. The Gurkhas had roughly divided each district into a number of petty military commands, sharply enforced a fixed sum from the Gurkha officer in charge of each, and practically left him and his soldiers to wring as much as they could out of the people. "The consequence was that villages were left waste; the inhabitants fled into the densest and most impenetrable jungles."[1] The first object of the British officers was to restore confidence and to render exactions impossible by fixing the revenue demand.

The extortions of the Gurkha soldiery afforded no safe basis of assessment, so Traill had to fall back on the system of taxation under the old Hindu dynasty. He found it made up of a variety of imposts, such as transit duties on goods, taxes on trade, on cultivation, on mining, on law-suits, on the manufacture of *ghi* or clarified butter, on weaving, on grazing cattle, on commodities produced from the land, and a variety of "presents" or forced gifts to the Raja on the occasion of births, marriages, and the various incidents of agricultural life. These taxes were continued and others added by the Gurkhas. Such a system strangled trade and industry, and was prohibitive of progress among the working population. It had, in fact, been designed to maintain in pomp and idleness the Hindu royal family and its crowds of retainers. The British officers gradually relinquished the old oppressive imposts one after another, until only three of the most equitable of them remained: the land revenue, mining royalties, and grazing on forest dues.

Traill and his assistant Hodgson marched from hamlet to hamlet, and, after long and apparently inconclusive talks with the elders, fixed some sort of rough assessment on each cultivated valley or hill-side. Their only roads

[1] Atkinson's Report on Garhwal District (part of Kumaun), p. 27. *ut supra.*

were narrow footpaths and zigzags up the precipices, sometimes mere ledges cut out of the rock with a thousand feet of sheer descent below. Their shelter was a little hill-tent, a dismantled tower, or a draughty temple, often open on three sides to the storms. But they were both young men, indeed astonishingly young considering the duties assigned to them. Hodgson was nineteen, Traill under thirty, and they went joyously to work "to settle" the province. They found the greater part of it owned by petty proprietors who derived their title from various sources—from grants by the old Rajas, from purchase, from military or "service" tenures, or from long-established occupancy. Most of them hoed and watered their fields with their own hands, but some cultivated by means of an inferior order of tillers of the soil who were mere tenants at will. Besides these three classes there were various intermediate ranks of grantees.

In all cases the fundamental ownership was vested in the State, or rather the State had a fundamental right to a first charge on the produce of the land. The rights of the several classes had to be ascertained, and the assessment to be regulated accordingly, from a rate which only represented a light land-tax to a rate which amounted to a substantial rent. It was a work of classification as well as of assessment, and much patience was required in enforcing a reasonable amount for the Government without infringing on the varying rights of the separate orders interested in the land.

It is easy to classify the tenures of an Indian district on paper. But it is very difficult to make any such classification correspond with all the facts. The difficulty, in the case of the first attempts at a land-settlement in Kumaun, was enhanced by the fact that Traill and Hodgson had to deal with old rights and claims impaired or broken down by twenty-four years of Gurkha usurpation—that is to say, with rights that had more or less lapsed during almost a whole generation as Indian life

was then reckoned. It was further complicated by the inchoate rights and claims which had grown up during that period. If Traill or Hodgson had brought to their task a long experience of the revenue system of any of the older provinces of British India, with the preconceptions which such an experience develops, it might have hindered rather than helped them. For the state of things with which they were called to deal was essentially diverse; even a universal term like *zamindar*, or landholder, has a different meaning in Kumaun from what it has in Bengal. In Kumaun it connotes no particular form of ownership, but is "apparently synonymous with cultivator, whether proprietor or tenant."[1] To the two young British officers in 1819, the landholders of Kumaun must have seemed a confused mass of hereditary proprietors, hereditary occupants holding as tenants at will, and occupants holding as prædial serfs or as domestic slaves.

All classes had a more or less hereditary claim to continue to cultivate their plots as long as they paid the diverse and by no means clearly defined charges upon them. There were "resident" cultivators with village rights, and "non-resident" cultivators who, although destitute of such rights, usually held on more easy terms.[2] The competition at that time in Kumaun was not for land, but for labour to till it; and cultivators from outside could make the best bargain. There were also grazing rights, forest rights, irrigation rights, and monopolies in water-power for mills. Out of this confusion Traill had to develop some sort of revenue system, and in the meanwhile he had to collect an actual revenue within each twelve months.

He seems to have gone sensibly to work. In the first years he looked little to the future, and tried to find what each hamlet could practically pay without hardship. Then

[1] The proprietors of land in Kumaun are called *thhatwans*.—Atkinson's Report, para. 33.

[2] They still apparently do.—Atkinson's Report (1877), para. 35.

he proceeded to a more exact survey of the resources of the province, and it was during this period, 1819-20, that Hodgson served as his assistant. The results were embodied in Traill's memorable Report of 1822-23. Then followed a period of settlement for terms of years, but it was not till 1846, eleven years after Traill had left the district, that a definite settlement could be safely carried out.[1] Even that settlement was only for twenty years, and more than half a century elapsed after Traill and Hodgson's labours before the regular North-West system of a thirty-years' settlement could be applied to Kumaun.

Meanwhile Brian Hodgson learned mountaineering in a practical school. "The inter-reticulations between these ranges," wrote Mr. Atkinson,[2] "present an extraordinary maze of ridges, peaks, and crags, with a few narrow strips of culturable land along the banks of the rivers in the lower portions of their courses." However inaccessible a spot of cultivation might be, if Hodgson was told off to assess it, he had to find his way thither. Many of the gorges could only be ascended by repeatedly crossing dangerous rivers, over which he had to pass with the help of men swimming upon gourds.[3] The bridges, where bridges existed at all, tested pretty severely the nerve of the traveller and the steadiness of a young head. Traill has left a vivid account of them.

The most solid sort "consists of a single spar thrown across" a gorge, or of successive blocks of timber projecting each a little beyond the other from both sides till they meet in the middle on the cantilever principle, their usual width being that of two or three trunks of trees. "The third description of bridges, called the *jhula*," continues Mr. Traill, "is constructed of ropes; two sets of cables being stretched across the river, and the ends secured in the banks. The roadway, consisting of slight ladders of

[1] *Official Reports on Kumaun* (Agra, 1851), pp. 223 *et seq.*

[2] Atkinson's Report, para. 4.

[3] Traill's Report, p. 5. Agra reprint, 1851.

wood two feet in breadth, is suspended parallel to the cables by ropes of about three feet in length. By this arrangement the horizontal cables form a balustrade to support the passenger while reaching from step to step of the ladders. To make the jhula practicable for goats and sheep, the interstices of the ladders are sometimes closed up with twigs laid close to each other. A construction of this kind necessarily requires a high bank on both sides, and where this evident advantage may be wanting, the deficiency of height is supplied by a wooden gallows, erected on the two banks, over which the ends of the cables are passed. The fourth and most simple bridge consists merely of a single cable stretched across the stream, to which is suspended a basket traversing on a wooden ring; the passenger or baggage being placed in this basket, it is drawn across by a man on the opposite side by means of a rope attached to the bottom."[1]

It was by the two latter kinds of bridges that Hodgson had generally to make his way across the ravines, with torrents roaring hundreds of feet below. Traill set about the construction of the two more substantial classes of wooden bridges first described; many of the still existing ones date from his time, although their timbers have been renewed. He says that iron chain bridges, like those described in Turner's *Tibet*, appear to have once been used in Kumaun, but that no remains of them survived. In Hodgson's time the public works of the old Hindu dynasty had disappeared, while those of the new rulers were just being begun. The only beasts of burden in the Kumaun hills were then sheep and goats, with an occasional yak-cow. The sheep carried burdens of ten to sixteen pounds of salt or borax in worsted pockets slung over their backs, the goats from twelve to twenty-four. But the larger breed of sheep from Tibet, somewhat resembling an Iceland ram, could march their five miles a day under loads of forty pounds.

[1] Traill's Report, pp. 5, 6.

Travelling in the hills brought Hodgson very near to the people. The common hardships and common dangers established a bond between the young Englishman and his native followers such as has seldom a chance of growing up in the official intercourse of lowland districts. Every day he discovered qualities in them which won his esteem —powers of endurance, steadiness of nerve, resource in unexpected difficulties. The hill races can laugh heartily, and they understand a joke. Sometimes the single file of travellers would be suddenly stopped by a long train of pack-sheep coming round a projecting rock, on a ledge so narrow as to seem to render it inevitable that one or the other of the lines should be forced over the precipice. For, as Traill tells us, no attempt had ever been made by the native rulers to construct roads "calculated for beasts of burden."[1] When he and his assistant met one of these strings of goats or sheep, it was Traill and Hodgson with their following that had to clamber up or down the rock, for the line of animals absolutely refused to give way. In the Kumaun hills the etiquette of the road, as well as the necessities of the situation, compelled the human travellers to get out of the path. Hodgson must have clung as best he could to the face of many a precipice, amid the good-natured laughter of his retinue, while the train of borax-laden sheep passed by.

His love of sport endeared him to the hill-men. At that time elephants roamed throughout the Bhabar forest, and wild beasts were so common that the British Government had to offer rewards for their destruction. In one year, even at a subsequent period, 45 tigers, 124 leopards, and 240 bears were destroyed in Kumaun proper at a cost of Rs. 1,400 to the Treasury. The fauna of the district is widely varied, from the great carnivers and nilgai and many species of deer in the lower tracts, to the wild goats of the higher ranges, and the wild yak,[2] the

[1] Traill's Report, p. 4. Agra reprint, 1851.

[2] Banchaunr (*Bos gruniens*).—Atkinson's Report, para. 10.

wild sheep,[1] and the *Ovis Ammon* among the snows. Reptiles, from the enormous boa-constrictors sometimes thirty feet long in the submontane jungles, to the *Halys Himalayanus* in the forests 10,000 feet above the sea, were numerous. Many interesting species of birds also fell to the young ornithologist's gun. As late as 1876 several thousands of the beautiful Kumaun pheasants were shot, without regard to their age, sex, or condition, by European dealers for the sake of their skins. The taste for natural history which Hodgson had imbibed from Professor Walter at Haileybury now became one of the pleasures of his life.

His main duty was, under Traill's direction, to collect data for the revenue-settlement of the following year, 1821. The last land-assessment of the Gurkhas, made in 1812 when their oppressions had depopulated the province, amounted to Rs. 241,122,[2] besides customs, miscellaneous imposts, and the innumerable intermediate extortions levied by their local agents. After the British drove out the Gurkha usurpers in 1815, Gardner and Traill at once perceived that, if they were to repeople Kumaun and to tempt back the cultivators to its deserted villages, they must cut down the Gurkha assessment by one half. They accordingly celebrated the first year of British rule by reducing the land-assessment to Rs. 123,577.[3] The population which had fled from the Gurkha oppression to the jungles quickly responded to our milder and juster administration. Hill-sides that had fallen out of cultivation were hoed up again. Villages long left without an

[1] Bharal (*Ovis nahura*).—Atkinson, para. 10.

[2] Appendices to Traill's Report for 1822-23, Statement D. Agra reprint, 1851. In all these statements the term Kumaun includes the district of British Garhwal, as the Commissionership of Kumaun does at the present day.

[3] *Idem.*, Statement D. The *gross* demand from the province by the last Gurkha settlement in 1812 was Rs. 268,977 (besides extortions by local agents). The *gross* demand of the first British settlement in 1815-16 was Rs. 132,723, without extortions.—Appendices to Traill's Report.

inhabitant began once more to send forth curls of smoke from their deserted hearths. During each of the following years the land-revenue spontaneously increased notwithstanding the abolition of old taxes,[1] and by 1819, when Hodgson began his work in Kumaun, it exceeded Rs. 150,000.[2]

In 1819-20 the improvement went on rapidly, and Traill determined to inquire into the whole subject of the capabilities of Kumaun. With the help of Hodgson each village was visited, and arranged in one of four classes: as revenue-paying, revenue free for military or other "services," "assigned to temples," or "deserted." Even as late as 1822, after a great extension of tillage had taken place, the "deserted" villages exceeded 2,000, or more than a quarter of the whole revenue-paying villages in the province—a lasting witness to the miseries inflicted during the Gurkha usurpation. When we received the province in 1815, the land actually out of cultivation, owing to the oppressions of the Gurkhas, was probably not less than one half of the cultivable rent-paying area.[3] About a thousand villages were exempted for "services" rendered or as temple lands, and a moderate assessment roughly averaging Rs. 20 per village was levied from the remaining 7,892 revenue-paying hamlets. The total land-assessment made by Traill and Hodgson for 1821 was under Rs. 170,000, or an average of about Rs. 4½ from each house in the revenue-paying districts. A "house" usually contained several families,[4] or grown-up sons: "The number

[1] Among others, Rs. 14,016 of transit duties on trade.—Traill's Report, Appendices, p. vii.

[2] *Idem.*, Statement D.

[3] In 1824 Traill reported 187,273 *bisis* (or units of land—*vide post*, p. 50) as "waste," against 215,310 under cultivation. But it does not appear how much of the "waste" in Kumaun and Garhwal was really cultivable.—Traill's Report, Supplementary Statement, p. viii. Reprint of 1851.

[4] There were 39,369 houses in the revenue-paying villages of Kumaun including Garhwal, 4,599 in the villages assigned to temples, and 681 in the revenue-free villages.—Traill's Report, Appendices, Statement A.

of hamlets consisting of one house," says Traill, "is very great."[1]

This settlement, based on the data collected in 1819-20, carried a little further the principles which had been acted on since our deliverance of the country from Gurkha oppression six years previously. Broadly speaking, it assigned a fixed demand to each village, based upon an examination of the actual capabilities of the village lands. The Gurkha system had been one of confiscation and squeezes. "The country," wrote Traill in his Report of 1822-23, "including all the villages hitherto reserved for the support of the Court and their attendants, was parcelled out in separate assignments to the invading army." "The villages were everywhere assessed rather on a consideration of the supposed means of the inhabitants than on any computation of their agricultural produce. Balances soon ensued, to liquidate which the family and effects of the defaulter were seized and sold. The consequent depopulation was rapid and excessive."[2] For a time indeed it seemed that, under Gurkha rule, the only alternative for the Kumaun hill-men lay between flight to the jungles and the sale of themselves and their women and children into slavery on the Indian plains.

It was in vain that the central Gurkha Government in Nepal tried to arrest the depopulation of Kumaun. It had, indeed, issued a commission of inquiry from the Nepalese capital to fix the Kumaun revenues at reasonable rates. Much of its machinery for the collection of the revenue, and its registers of village cultivation, were continued by the British administration. But notwithstanding a Gurkha inspection of the resources of each village, the Gurkha "assessment must be viewed," says Traill, "rather as a tax founded on the number of inhabitants than on the extent of cultivation."[3] In spite of an elaborate system

[1] Report, p. 12. Reprint of 1851.
[2] Traill's Report, pp. 41, 42. Agra reprint, 1851.
[3] Traill's Report, p. 42.

of returns and registers, made up village by village and bearing the seal of the Gurkha State, "the absence of a controlling power on the spot rendered the arrangement almost nugatory."[1]

The Gurkha revenue-agents and soldiers squeezed the last drop out of the people in Kumaun; in the Garhwal district their exactions were so heavy that even the Gurkha military chiefs found it impossible to enforce them. We have seen that the legal demand of the Gurkha Government, apart from the extortions of its local agents and their underlings, amounted to the double assessment which our officers thought reasonable when the province passed under British rule. According to the Gurkha system, the cultivators who remained were responsible for making good the whole revenue. But the depopulation under the Gurkha oppressions had rendered it impossible for the Gurkha taskmasters to wring the full demand out of the remaining inhabitants. Fiscal brutalities and depopulation kept pace together, the revenue balances under the Gurkhas "annually increasing from the attempt to enforce the full demand."[2]

The settlement of 1820-21, following upon Traill's previous reforms, put an end to this state of things for ever. In order to adjust fairly the taxation of the land, Traill and Hodgson made a sort of revenue census. They not only counted the villages and arranged them into the four classes mentioned on p. 47; they also made a careful estimate of the number of houses and the quantity of cultivated land in each village, together with the number of buffaloes, cows, and oxen. The tabular statements which they were thus enabled to prepare look very complete. But, as a matter of fact, Traill and Hodgson had to arrive at the area under cultivation by a series of guesses instead of by actual measurement. They adopted the native system, current throughout the hills, of calculating the area of fields by the supposed quantity of grain which would be

[1] Traill's Report for 1822-23, p. 42. [2] *Idem.*, p. 42.

required to sow them. The unit of land was the *bisi*, which, as the term implies, meant *twenty* "measures of seed."[1] The superficial area of a *bisi* of land differed widely, as the grain was sown much more sparsely on poor lands near the summit of the cultivated hill-sides, than on rich lands at the base of the mountains or on alluvial patches in the valleys. It was the only method of arriving at an equitable adjustment of the land-tax then practicable in Kumaun, and it rendered the demand from each village fairly proportionate to the aggregate produce of the village lands.

With these materials before him and proceeding as far as possible on the old native registers, Traill assisted by Hodgson let out the revenue-paying area of the province in 7,883 lots, a lot usually corresponding to a village.[2] But before doing so they had to determine a question, the most important of all in its influence on the contentment of the people. Who was the person in each village entitled to receive the Government lease? Here too they followed the old native system, and merely carried our administrative arrangements a step further along the lines adopted on our first acquisition of Kumaun in 1815. Almost every village had its representative man, who was recognised to have a right to engage for the land-revenue with the ruling Power. This title he might derive from several distinct sources: from hereditary prescription, or from election by the co-sharers in the village lands, or in the case of clan-communities by election of the clans. As a rule a son succeeded his father in the office, unless deemed incapable by reason of youth or of feebleness of character, in which case the village co-sharers or the clansmen (as the case might be) chose another representative from among themselves.

The representative or head-man[3] of a Kumaun village

[1] Nalis.

[2] There were 7,902 "khalsa," or direct revenue-paying villages, and 7,883 separate leases.—Traill's Report for 1822-23, Appendices, Statements A. and D.

[3] *Padhan*, a vernacular corruption of the Sanskrit *pradhan*, chief,

had distinct privileges and distinct obligations. He paid the land-tax, in the first place for his own share of the cultivated lands. With the aid of the village assembly the head-man allotted a fair proportion of the total village assessment to each cultivator, collected the whole, and handed it over to the revenue officer. He managed the distribution of the uncultivated lands, letting them out to applicants and accounting for their rental to the co-parcenary village body. Perhaps the most difficult duty of the head-man was to make good the losses arising from fields falling out of cultivation. The death of a husbandman without heirs, or his migration to another village, left for the moment a deficit in the general collections. This deficit the head-man had to raise.[1] He called a "general assembly" of the village co-sharers, and with their consent added a percentage to the land-tax of each of the co-parceners in the cultivated lands. The vacant holding passed for the time into the general stock of uncultivated lands, in which the villagers had rights in common. The remuneration of the head-man consisted of an allotment of revenue-free land,[2] averaging about five per cent of the whole cultivated area in Kumaun proper, together with fees on marriages.

A useful representative person of this sort grew into importance under the British system of adjusting the

principal. The term was used throughout India for widely different classes of functionaries, from the Prime Minister at a Hindu Court, and the eight chief civil and military officers of the Maratha State as established by Sivaji, to a village head-man, or a respectable cultivator with hereditary rights.

[1] For an account of this system of joint responsibility, by which the village commune had to make up the land-tax of deceased or defaulting members, see my *Bengal MS. Records* (4 vols., 1894), Introduction, p. 54, etc. Under the Mughal revenue settlements it developed into a regular *abwab* or extra tax, the *najai*.

[2] Termed *Hek Padhanchari*, and amounting practically to 5,000 *bisis* out of a total of 101,924 *bisis* of revenue-paying land in Kumaun proper. In the Garhwal district the system varied.—Traill's Report for 1822-23, p. 52, compared with Appendices, Statement D.

land-revenue fairly to the capabilities of each village. He became "the village ministerial officer entrusted with the collection of the Government demand, and with the supervision of the village police."[1] During the inquiries of Traill and Hodgson in 1819-20, he formed an invaluable link between the British officers and the people. It was from constant intercourse with the village head-men that the two young investigators chiefly obtained the information which made up Traill's *Statistical Sketch of Kumaun* two years later.

The collection of the materials for that work opened out a new world to Hodgson, although his share in collecting them was a subordinate one. It is impossible now to distinguish his contributions. But the habit of systematic inquiry into the population, their history, language, social institutions, and economic conditions, which Traill impressed upon Hodgson in his first years of service, became the keynote of Hodgson's whole official career. It is surprising how long a really good piece of work lives in India. The Report for which Traill and his assistant were gathering the materials in 1819-20 became the basis of the administrative handbook to the province. It was published in the *Asiatick Researches* in 1828;[2] entered largely into Batten's Settlement Reports of Kumaun from 1842 to 1848; was reprinted by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in 1851; supplied the materials for the account of Kumaun[4] written by Mr. Atkinson[5] in 1877 for the Statistical Survey of India; and then started life afresh in the article "Kumaun"

[1] Traill, quoted in J. H. Batten's Report on Garhwal, dated August 10th, 1842, para. 20.

[2] Under the title of "Statistical Sketch of Kumaun," *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. XVI. (Calcutta, 1828), pp. 137-234.

[3] As No. 1 of *The Official Reports of the Province of Kumaun*. Secundra Orphan Press, Agra, 1851.

[4] Dated Naini Tal, August 31st, 1877, and printed in the *Gazetteer* volumes of the North-Western Provinces.

[5] Mr. E. T. Atkinson afterwards became Comptroller-General of

in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. That article reproduced in 1886 some of the *ipsissima verba* of Traill written in 1823.

If any young Indian civilian, in the solitude and ill-health amid which some of his earlier years may be spent, feels inclined to despond about the reality of his work, let him read the foregoing paragraph. No lives could be more solitary than those of Traill and Hodgson in Kumaun, and few civilians have had to struggle so hard with ill-health as the latter during the first part of his Indian service. Yet not only their work but their very words are alive and bearing fruit to this day.

There is something very refreshing in the sight of these two young men setting to work with almost boyish zest to take stock of the *terra incognita* of a new British province. They found the population divided into two classes: human beings and ghosts. Of both classes Traill furnishes an equally serious account. The ethnical origin of the various human races in the mountains is discussed, and a realistic description of their customs winds up with a tribute to their integrity. "Of the honesty of the hill people," writes Traill, "too much praise cannot be given. Property of all kinds is left exposed in every way, without fear and without loss. In those districts whence periodical migration to the *Tarai* takes place, the villages are left with almost a single occupant during half the year, and though a great part of the property of the villagers remains in their houses, no precaution is deemed necessary, except securing the doors against the ingress of animals, which is done by a bar of wood, the use of locks being as yet confined to the higher classes. In their pecuniary transactions with each other, the agricultural classes have rarely recourse to written engagements; bargains concluded by the parties joining hands (*hath marna*) in token of assent

Finance to the Government of India, and filled the office of President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His comparatively early death cut short a career of usefulness both to the Indian administration and to Oriental scholarship.

prove equally effectual and binding as if secured by parchment and seals."[1]

But the most complete details are reserved for "the ghost tribe," which Traill informs us "is divided into many varieties. The first and most formidable is the Bhut," or ghosts of persons who have died a violent death, by murder, drowning, or public execution, and to whose *manes* due funeral honours have not been paid. These require to be appeased by sacrifices and offerings. "Masan or imps are the ghosts of young children, the bodies of whom are buried and not burnt, and who prowl about the villages in the shape of bears and other wild animals. Tola or will-o'-the-wisps are ghosts of bachelors, that is males who may die at mature age unmarried," dwellers in solitary places and contemned by other ghosts. The Airi or ghosts of persons killed in hunting wandered about the forest in which their death occurred, and might be heard from time to time hallooing to their spectral dogs. The Acheri or hill fairies were the ghosts of young female children, who flitted about the tops of mountains, producing wondrous optical illusions among the distant ranges, and descending at dusk to play in the valleys. The Deos or demons formed a numerous and malignant class; "indeed scarce a village but has its peculiar Deo."[2]

I have condensed the foregoing paragraph to show the minute character of the inquiries conducted by Traill and his assistant not only into the social conditions, but also into the inner life of the people. It would be easy to multiply interesting examples of the customs and superstitions which they were thus enabled to record. I confine myself to one more passage from Traill's Report dealing with the judicial procedure by ordeal which he found in full work in Kumaun.

"Three forms of *ordeal* were in common use: First, the *Gola Dip*, which consists in receiving in the palms of the

[1] Traill's Report, p. 64. Reprint of 1851.
[2] Traill's Report for 1822-23, pp. 65-67.

hands, and carrying to a certain distance, a red-hot bar of iron. Second, the *Karai Dip*, in which the hand is plunged into a vessel of boiling oil, in which cases the test of truth is the absence of marks of burning on the hand. Third, *Tarazu-ka Dip*: in this the person undergoing the ordeal was weighed at night, against stones which were then carefully deposited under lock and key and the seal of the superintending officer. On the following morning, after a variety of ceremonies, the appellant was again weighed, and the substantiation of his cause depended on his proving heavier than on the preceding evening.

"The *Tir-ka Dip*, in which the person remained with his head submerged in water, while another ran the distance of a bowshot and back, was sometimes resorted to. The Gurkha governors introduced another mode of trial by water, in which two boys, both unable to swim, were thrown into a pond of water, and the longest liver gained the cause. Formerly, poison was, in very particular causes, resorted to as the criterion of innocence: a given dose of a particular root was administered, and the party, if he survived, was absolved. A further mode of appeal to the interposition of the deity was by placing the sum of money, or a bit of earth from the land in dispute, in a temple before the idol. Either one of the parties volunteering such test then, with imprecations on himself if false, took up the article in question. Supposing no death to occur within six months in his immediate family, he gained his cause; on the contrary, he was cast in the event of being visited with any great calamity or if afflicted with severe sickness during that period."[1]

Hodgson seems to have given satisfaction to his young chief, and in 1820 an unexpected piece of promotion befell him. Mr. Stuart the assistant to the British Resident at the Court of Nepal died,[2] and the Resident, Gardner,

[1] Traill's Report, pp. 29, 30.

[2] Robert Stuart, Haileybury 1808-9; India 1810; died March 14th, 1820.

wanted a thoroughly competent man to replace him. Stuart had been a contemporary of Traill at Haileybury, and went out to India in the same year. Traill was Gardner's assistant in Kumaun, as Stuart was his assistant in Nepal. Gardner would naturally consult Traill in filling the vacant post, and probably on Traill's recommendation Hodgson was appointed.

Sir Charles D'Oyly may have put in a good word for him at headquarters in Calcutta, but it is almost certain that so junior an officer as Hodgson would not have been selected for this responsible position if he had not already made his mark and been strongly recommended by his immediate superior. Indeed it is difficult to imagine a better training (brief as it was) for his new duties at the Gurkha capital of Nepal than Hodgson received in Kumaun. He learned at first hand the process by which a territory was being redeemed from Gurkha misrule and converted into a prosperous British province.

Traill started in 1815 on the old native methods of administration, except when they conflicted with justice or humanity. By three years of experimental settlements[1] he patiently found out in what particulars those methods were defective. He then commenced a careful investigation of the conditions and actual capabilities of the province, with a view to a more permanent arrangement based on the ascertained facts. These inquiries, conducted throughout 1818-20, yielded the materials for the fourth British settlement of Kumaun in 1820-21,[2] and for the general Report on the province for 1822-23. Traill had the art of getting the most out of his assistants and of stamping his personality upon them. In less than two years he not only taught Hodgson how to inquire, but also implanted in him a love of inquiry which was destined to extend, in more than one direction, the boundaries of human knowledge.

[1] For 1815-16, 1816-17, 1817-18. [2] *Samvat*, 1877.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY YEARS IN NEPAL—AND A CHECK.

1820—1824.

HODGSON carried with him from Kumaun a very grateful remembrance of his first master. "I was much struck," he writes in his brief autobiographical notes, "by the simple yet efficient method of administrating the province, a new acquisition tenanted by very primitive and poor tribes. The Commissioner (Traill) who spoke and wrote the local language, dispensed with all formalities, settled cases in court like the father of a family, and encouraged every one who had a complaint to put it in writing and drop it into a slit in the court door, of which he kept the key. Answered *vivâ voce*, in court or out. He was of active habits, and went everywhere throughout the province, hearing and seeing all for himself. His cheerful simple manners and liking for the people made him justly popular. Took a hint from him when myself in authority in Nepal as to the way of becoming popular."

Nor was his new chief Gardner, under whom Traill also had made his mark, less gifted with qualities which win the admiration of a generous youth. "Found at Kathmandu," continue Hodgson's jottings, "in the head of the embassy another man to form myself upon, a man with all the simplicity and more than the courtesy of Traill,—a man who was the perfection of good sense and good temper; who, liking the Nepalese and understanding them, was doing wonders in reconciling a Court of Chinese proclivities to the offensive novelty of responsible international dealing

through a permanent diplomatic establishment in their midst—a Court whose pride and poverty made it, moreover, jealously fretful at the novel sight of the costly and pompous style then inseparable from our Indian embassies."[1]

The Honourable Edward Gardner was the Marquess of Hastings' right-hand man in bringing Nepal into treaty relations with the British. Edward Gardner and his cousin, Lieut.-Colonel William Gardner, had mainly effected the conquest and annexation of Kumaun which turned the tide of the Nepal war in our favour. Descended from the gallant Gardner of Coleraine, who commanded a company within Derry during the memorable siege, the family rose to distinction in the person of Admiral Sir Alan Gardner[2] in the reign of George the Third. The Admiral received a peerage for brilliant services prolonged over more than half a century. One of his nephews William Linnæus Gardner,[3] after chequered experiences in the British army, married an Indian princess, and concluded a career of military adventure with the Marathas by taking pay as a leader of irregular horse under Lord Lake (*circa* 1804). His kinsman, Edward,[4] fifth son of

[1] Notes written by Brian Hodgson about 1881, and given to me by Mrs. Hodgson.

[2] Born 1742; entered royal navy 1755; lieutenant of the *Bellona* 1760; Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships in Jamaica 1786; fought in Lord Howe's actions of May 29th and June 1st, 1794; Baronetcy 1794; second in command in the action off Port L'Orient, 1795; Irish peerage 1800; peerage of the United Kingdom 1806; died 1809 (according to *Foster's Peerage*, December 30th, 1808).

[3] Born 1770; died 1835. See the spirited notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and article "Kasganj" in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VIII., pp. 59, 60. Ed. 1886.

[4] Born 1784; arrived in India as a Writer 1802; Registrar and Assistant to Magistrate of Aligarh 1805; Assistant to Resident at Delhi 1808; acting Judge and Magistrate of Moradabad 1813; Commissioner and Governor-General's Agent in Kumaun 1814; Resident in Nepal 1816; for a short time Resident for the Native States in Bundelkhand and Superintendent of the Narbada Territories 1819, but presently resumed the Residency in Nepal; retired from the Service 1829; died in England October 5th, 1861.—*India Office MS. Records.*

Admiral Lord Gardner, entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1802. He early distinguished himself in political employment, and in the districts which had formed the scene of Lord Lake's campaign of 1802-3. In 1814 the Marquess of Hastings employed the two cousins Edward and William Gardner in the central or Kumaun expedition against the Gurkha power.

The success of its operations was in no small measure due to Lieut.-Colonel William Linnæus Gardner's tact and knowledge of the native character. Edward, as political officer with the force, put the seal of peace upon the conquest of Kumaun. Colonel W. L. Gardner after further service in Central India, the North-Western Provinces and Burma, at the head of his irregular cavalry known as Gardner's Corps,[1] settled down with his princess on a property which they bought in Etah District, and there they both died within a month of each other at a ripe age in 1835. His cousin the Honourable Edward became, as we have seen, the first Commissioner of Kumaun, and was promoted by Lord Hastings after the ratification of the Treaty of Segauli to be the first British Resident in Nepal.

Hodgson came to Nepal at a time when this stirring period had given place to a reaction of sullen acquiescence. After half a century of aggression and insolence the Nepalese had been forced to submit to our arms. The Company's earlier relations with them tended, indeed, to encourage a contempt for its power.[2] In 1767, at the time of the Gurkha usurpation of Nepal, we had declared in favour of the legitimate but effete Newar Raja of Kathmandu, and despatched to his aid a force which never

[1] Otherwise the 2nd Local Horse.

[2] The following summary is condensed from Sir Charles Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*, Vol. II., Part III. (Ed. 1876); H. T. Prinsep's *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India* during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-1823, Vol. I. (Ed. 1825); and General Sir John Malcolm's *Political History of India from* 1784 *to* 1823 (Ed. 1826).

got farther than the jungly outskirts of the country—the deadly Tarai.

In 1792 the Gurkhas, having completely subjugated Nepal, were encroaching on Tibet and advanced as far as Digarchi, the Lama of which was spiritual father to the Emperor of China. The Chinese Emperor replied to their insolence by a mighty army. The Nepal Court sought the favour of the British by means of a commercial treaty,[1] and Lord Cornwallis offered to mediate between China and Nepal. But before our envoy reached the frontier, the Chinese general had imposed an ignominious submission on the Nepalese within a few miles of their capital Kathmandu.

During the first twenty-five years of our intercourse we had thus appeared to Nepal equally incapable as an opponent and as an ally. This tradition survived during a generation, and, as we shall see, affected the attitude of the Nepal Court throughout Hodgson's whole residence. The commercial treaty of 1792 speedily became a dead letter, the Nepalese encroached on our frontier, and a new treaty in 1801 ended in our further discomfiture.[2] On that occasion we mixed ourselves up with the domestic disputes of the reigning family in Nepal. The treaty of 1801 provided, *inter alia*, for the appointment of a British representative at the Court of Kathmandu, and Captain Knox was appointed to the post. But he was treated with such contumely as to compel him to withdraw from Nepal in 1803, and on January 24th, 1804, Lord Wellesley formally dissolved our alliance with the Nepalese.

The next eight years formed a period of unavailing remonstrance against Gurkha aggressions along the whole length of our frontier. The Gurkhas seized one piece of territory after another. Only on a single occasion did they give up their prey, and on that occasion only when a

[1] Dated March 1st, 1792, and numbered LI. in Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. II., p. 159. Ed. 1876.

[2] No. LII. in Aitchison's *Treaties*, II., pp. 161-164.

British detachment was despatched to retake possession of the lands at the point of the bayonet (1810). In the next year they again crossed our frontier, and their forcible entry among an unwilling population gave rise to the first border skirmish. Lord Minto was at length compelled to recognise that a gradual invasion of the British districts was being carried on. After trying in vain to effect a settlement by commissioners, he formally called on the Gurkha Government in June 1813 for redress.

Before the reply—a most unsatisfactory one—arrived, Lord Hastings[1] had assumed the Governor-Generalship. The alternative forced upon him was simple. "I might shrink," he wrote, "from the declaration plighted by Lord Minto, abandoning the property of the Company, sacrificing the safety of our subjects, and staining the character of our Government; or I had to act up to the engagements bequeathed to me, and to reprove the trespass of an insatiable neighbour."[2]

The war which followed is a matter of general history, and has been lately summarised by a military expert of no ordinary skill.[3] It must suffice here to state that, after an unsuccessful campaign by four British columns in 1814, the struggle was renewed in the following year. In April 1815 the troops under Lieut.-Colonel Gardner forced the centre of the long-extended frontier of the Nepalese dominions, and occupied Kumaun. The fall of its capital Almora took the heart out of the Gurkha army, already tired of a protracted conflict, and enabled our western column operating from the Sutlej to secure possession of the Simla and Punjab hill-states. Our troops thus set free in the west were employed to reinforce the British army

[1] Throughout I call Lord Moira by his later and best-known title of Marquess of Hastings.

[2] Nepal Papers, 992. Quoted, H. H. Wilson's *History of British India from* 1805 *to* 1835, Vol. II., p. 76, footnote. Ed. 1846.

[3] It forms Chapter IV. of the admirable monograph on *The Marquess of Hastings*, written by Major Ross-of-Bladensburg, C.B., for the Rulers of India Series, 1893.

advancing in the east from Bengal upon Kathmandu. In the spring of 1816 it imposed terms of peace within a short distance of that capital. After exhausting every device of procrastination the Nepalese delivered to our victorious general, Sir David Ochterlony, "at half-past two o'clock p.m. on the 4th of March, 1816,"[1] a treaty by which they renounced all claims to the lands in dispute before the war, ceded extensive territories, and engaged never to employ any European or American without our consent. Nepal thus entered into subordinate alliance to the British power. To secure that the new relationship should be effectually maintained, it agreed "that accredited ministers from each shall reside at the Court of the other."[2]

It was this Treaty of Segauli that the Honourable Edward Gardner had been appointed in 1816 to carry out. The task was made easier for him by the frankly cordial attitude which the Governor-General adopted towards Nepal from the moment that hostilities ceased. Lord Hastings, "with a view to gratify the Raja in a point which he has much at heart,"[3] authorised Gardner to soothe the wounded honour of the Nepalese by giving them back, for a pecuniary consideration, a part of the Tarai conveniently separated from the British boundary.

Lord Hastings aimed at converting Nepal from a troublesome neighbour into if possible a friendly, or at least a quiescent, ally. Gardner was exactly the man to give effect to the Governor-General's policy "that all future causes of misunderstanding should be avoided."[4] During the thirteen years of his residentship at Kathmandu, he preserved an attitude of benevolent non-inter-

[1] Sir David Ochterlony's endorsement.—Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. II., p. 168. Ed. 1876.

[2] Treaty of Segauli, Article 8.—No. LIII. in Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. II., pp. 166-168.

[3] Memorandum of December 8th, 1816, signed "Edward Gardner"; and counterpart letter and document from the Raja of Nepal, received on December 11th, 1816.—Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. II., pp. 168-171.

[4] *The Marquess of Hastings*, by Major Ross-of-Bladensburg, p. 77.

ference and abstained from raising any new questions. That long period added not a single document to our public engagements with Nepal, and Sir Charles Aitchison's authoritative narrative of our diplomatic transactions passes without comment from 1816 to 1832.[1] This policy of non-intervention was rendered possible by the long predominance of the minister Bhim Sen Thappa, who had witnessed the whole course of the war and had definitely although reluctantly recognised the invincible force of the British arms.

Mr. Gardner found Bhim Sen in complete control of the factions which made up the Gurkha nation. Soon after Gardner's arrival at Kathmandu the nominal Raja died, leaving an infant two years old as his successor. Bhim Sen remained in power as Prime Minister, with the Queen-Mother as nominal Regent during the long minority. He conciliated the Gurkha chiefs by keeping up a large standing army, and by a display of almost insolent indifference to the British Resident. At the same time he avoided any cause of actual rupture with the English power. Gardner perfectly understood the position. His business was to do nothing, so he and the Prime Minister, while privately good friends, maintained in public an attitude of haughty aloofness, like two estimable augurs without a wink or a betraying smile.

Hodgson too was not long in realising the situation. After the first pleasure in his promotion wore off, he by no means relished the prospect of doing nothing for an indefinite period in an out-of-the-way corner of India. Gardner, a man of only thirty-six in 1820, was evidently a fixture in Nepal for life. Hodgson, fresh from his robust training in Kumaun, shrank from so prolonged a study in the art of looking on. Instead of the world of administrative activities into which Traill had launched him, he now found himself shut up in the narrow round of Residency routine, and forbidden to stray further than a morning's

[1] Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*, Vol. II., p. 152. Ed. 1876.

ride from its walls. His friends at headquarters bestirred themselves, his Persian proficiency at College remained on record, and after two years of *laissez-faire* in Nepal he was brought into the Foreign Office, Calcutta, as acting Deputy-Secretary in the Persian Department.[1]

So in 1822, after barely five years in India, Hodgson's great chance in life came to him. The Deputy-Secretaryship was in itself one of the chief prizes of the junior service. It might lead to the very highest positions—to Governor-General's Agencies, to Council, or to the government of a province. It gave almost certain opportunities for personal distinction. A Bengal civilian with a fair amount of talent and industry had only to follow step by step the line of promotion which it naturally opened up, in order to enjoy an interesting and a lucrative career. But before long it became apparent that the pleasant places at headquarters were not to fall to Hodgson's lot. The climatic complaints which had formerly driven him from Calcutta again fastened on him, and with a more lasting hold.

The Calcutta autumn of 1823, like that of 1819, tried him severely, and by the end of the year the old alternative was once more forced upon him, an appointment in the hills or a grave on the plains. To him also as to many an eager soul, from the days of Baruch the son of Neriah downwards, came the message: "And seekest thou to do great things for thyself?" A voyage to England might have restored his health, and opened afresh to him the brilliant career which stretched its vista before his eyes. But a voyage to England was for him impossible. He had already become the bread-winner of an unprosperous far-off home, and he could not intermit the support on which his parents in large measure depended.

In the present case there was no means of breaking the fall. The office of Assistant at the Nepalese Residency had been filled up, and Hodgson "at the beginning of

[1] November 1822.—*India Office MS. Records.*

1824 returned to Kathmandu to assume charge of the post-office there."[1] For more than a year he recruited his health in that subordinate post. In 1825 the assistant-residentship again fell vacant, and Hodgson was reappointed to it.[2] But the hope of a career in the great arenas of Indian diplomacy and administration, opened up by the deputy-secretaryship in the Foreign Office, had closed to him for ever. He knew that if he were to continue to live in India his life must be spent in Nepal.

[1] Rajendra Lala Mitra, Preface to *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta, 1882), and *India Office MS. Records.*

[2] *India Office MS. Records.*

CHAPTER VI.

A SOLITARY HEART.

SO in 1824 Hodgson returned to Kathmandu, seeing clearly that for him an Indian career was circumscribed by stringent limits. A pent-up valley in the Himalayas which he could traverse in a forenoon, and beyond which no European might penetrate, was henceforward to be his world. How he converted his misfortune into an opportunity, and used his isolation as the poet employs the narrow bounds of the sonnet to perfect his work, forms the story of this book. His life was to be one of solitary labour, with small chance of recognition, and indeed with little thought of the outer world. The best memorial of him is his work, and I shall try to show what he was by a plain statement of what he did. I thus fulfil his own wish, a wish expressed in many gentle ways during the last twenty-five years of his life, when I had the happiness to call him friend.

He has, of a truth, left so vast and multiform a mass of labour that there is danger of his individuality being buried beneath its own creations. While therefore the following chapters of this volume will be almost exclusively occupied by a record of his work, it seems well, before we enter upon it, to get a clear idea of the man. It may save interruptions in the subsequent narrative, and explain certain of its episodes, if we carry with us some perception of his personality—sensitive, high-minded, I had almost said haughty, careless of praise yet longing for love—and of that insatiable spirit of exploration into many regions of human knowledge which marked him out among men.

Hodgson soon discovered that intense mental activity, even when it brings success, does not satisfy a man's whole nature. He began to feel the hunger of the heart which forms so marked a feature in the lives of Englishmen who have rendered great services in India. Almost from the outset he managed to send part of his salary to his mother, and the straitened household at Canterbury had got into the habit of depending on him for no inconsiderable part of its income. The father never recovered the loss of his fortune in middle life, and although his commandantship of the Martello Towers led to another small military appointment, whose duties he faithfully and modestly discharged, it became clear that Brian must be a main support of the family. The younger children grew up to regard Brian as a sort of tutelary power rather than as one of themselves—a power working in the mysterious distance for their good, and capable of being specially invoked when each brother or sister had to be furnished forth in life.

Hodgson, however, was no mere benevolent abstraction, but a very solitary man longing for human affection. Like many an Anglo-Indian brother and father, he felt that he was growing to be an outsider to the dear ones at home, and he would gladly have exchanged all their gratitude and admiration for a little love. Especially did he feel this in regard to his favourite sister Frances, always throughout life his "dearest Fan." She was only a child of eight when he left for India, and her early fondness for him as a comrade soon faded away into veneration for a distant benefactor. But veneration is rather trying to a healthy-minded youth of twenty-five, and Hodgson, in his letters to her, half attempted to live up to it and half tried to break it down into some warmer sisterly feeling. A few extracts from these letters will show the inner nature of the man. He felt forced to play the mentor, yet hated the part.

The first which has been preserved was written to his

sister when about fifteen. In judging of the style one must remember that it was still the age of fraternal responsibility and of the suppressed and ornamental position of girls. It might have been written by an elder brother in one of Jane Austen's novels, and consequently contains passages which may make a modern girl stamp her foot.

"KATHMANDU, NEPAL.[1]

"*December 1st*, [1825].

"MY SWEET FAN!—A letter under date May 23rd, from our dearest mother, gives me a charming account of your talents, industry, and acquirements. You love music and promise to excel. You have possessed yourself of those elegant languages French and Italian. How I long to hear my sweet Fanny sing an Italian song with all the taste and feeling of a genuine lover of music! And as you take pains to accomplish yourself in these fascinating arts, I doubt not that you bestow your talents and industry with equal or greater zeal on the acquisition of more important arts—the noble arts of self-command, of a just control over your thoughts and affections; and the constraining of both into a steady course of action sufficiently rigid in regard to yourself, and sufficiently gentle and considerate in regard to all others. Gentleness, dearest Fan, is the crown of womanhood, and, when accompanied by spirit and talent, forms the perfection of your sex in the eyes of ours.

"I am very glad to hear you are fond of reading, because books open sources of satisfaction more permanent, more within our own command, more various, and more suited to a cultivated mind than any other which this world affords to us. Accident or good luck led me to turn my attention early towards books, and I can assure you, from experience, that during the past six years I have drawn the chief joys of my life from this fount.

"I do not, however, mean to read you a lecture, dearest Fan—I am a laughing philosopher, if philosopher at all—

[1] Received at Boulogne, May 23rd, 1826.

and so little am I used to this grave mood that the deep interest I take in your happiness could alone have moved me to assume it. You will, my pretty one, readily believe, and seriously think on, what a brother tells you—a brother who speaks to you from the distance of half the world. Wisdom in the conduct of life is nothing mysterious or hard to find. Children may comprehend it. 'She crieth aloud in the streets,' as Scripture says; and the only secret is, not to know, but to act up to her injunctions—which even the most sensible and well-disposed cannot do without early disciplining themselves to habits of self-denial and of consideration for others. Let the very look of your parents be a law to you—give your sister's wish the preference to your own—and, in general society, ever remember that all mankind love themselves better than they love you. Consequently the quality most agreeable to them is modesty—the most disagreeable is pride or vanity.

"Ah, dearest Fan, 'twill be many a long year before I can hope to see you, and in saying what I have said, no possible motive can have influenced me but the desire to make you lovely in the eyes of those who will see you. I beg you will henceforward write to me once every month or two months, and in my future letters I will be more gay and gallant. I am very well, and busy among my bluff friends from Tibet, who are now here on their annual visit. Will has had a fever, but is doing well and on his way to Bhartpur with the army. I got, long ago, the dear lock of your hair, with one of Ellen's, and I sent you a lock of mine. Ever, sweet Fan, your affectionate

"BRIAN."

"Will" (his brother William, born 1805) had obtained a nomination to the Company's military service from the same family friend, Mr. James Pattison, to whom Brian owed his own appointment. After three years at Addiscombe, William received his commission in 1823,[1] and

[1] Addiscombe 1820-23; date of commission as Second Lieutenant

shared in the prize-money on the capture of Bhartpur by Lord Combermere in January 1827. But he paid for his good luck by a long illness, and during the next two years he was constantly on sick-leave, most of which he spent as Brian's guest in Nepal.[1] Brian nursed him back to health again, but William's constitution seems to have been permanently undermined, and his subsequent life in India was a struggle against ill-health broken by intervals of good service. Brian had ample room for the invalid in his official abode as Assistant Resident—a pleasant two-storied villa in the Indo-Italian style with a handsome pillared portico, shaded by trees, and surrounded by a garden and park.

In 1829 the Honourable Edward Gardner resigned the service, and Hodgson became Acting Resident in Nepal. "My superior in office here," he wrote to his sister Fanny on April 23rd, 1829, "left this Residency March 1st, since which time I have been *chargé d'affaires*, and they tell me I shall soon be confirmed in the exalted post in which I now only officiate. I am a great man, with a great house and great establishment, and, what is far better, possessed of a high and honourable charge. Whether all this is to last or not will depend on the Governor-General. Our dearest mama bids me come home, but how can I leave my present glorious prospect of confirmation as Resident in full? And even were that prospect suddenly overcast, alas I have not the means to visit England. William, if he be careful, may do so in five or six years, and without injuring his advancement."

June 6th, 1823; Lieutenant, September 28th, 1827; Captain, June 6th, 1838; Major, G. O., June 11th, 1838; died at Mhow, June 12th, 1838. —*India Office Records.*

[1] Leave for six months to Nepal on sick certificate, G. O., March 5th, 1827; extended for four months on sick certificate, G. O., November 29th, 1827; leave extended for twelve months in Nepal on sick certificate (which cancels his last extension), G. O., December 8th, 1827; and again extended for three months to rejoin, G. O., November 21st, 1828.—*India Office Records.*

The truth is that his youngest brother, Edward Legh Hodgson, had this year (1829) to be started at Haileybury, and the demands upon Brian's purse more than consumed his income.

As the correspondence goes on, Hodgson keenly feels that he is becoming more and more of a brother in the abstract to the charming sister now blossoming into womanhood. He envies the warmer relationship between the younger members of the family. "Trust me, sweet Fan," he writes on September 22nd, 1829, "there lives not a person, not even 'Darling Will,' who loves you more than I do." He thanks her for her lively letter and hopes she is as cheerful in actual life. "Sure I am that that eternal sunshine of the mind which makes us prized and cherished wherever we go is the best gift of Heaven when it is constitutional, and one which it is our first duty to strive to possess ourselves of, if we are not naturally endowed with it. By this, however, I do not mean the shining with a glaring lustre in large parties, but the shedding the 'useful light' of cheerfulness round the little circles in which we ordinarily dwell. The former is entirely a vulgar merit, but the latter, the crown of manhood, and yet more, of womanhood."

Hodgson's letters disclose the difficulty (felt by how many a "big brother" in India!) of readjusting their tone, which was once suitable to the little girl whom he had known and loved, but who had now grown into a young woman. She seems to have felt it also, and to have let him know that she did. By this time Hodgson had moved into the Residency, where he kept an open table for his assistant and the officer of his escort—the "two guests" referred to in the following letter, dated May 7th, 1830:—

"MY DEAREST FAN,—I owe you two letters, and must endeavour to pay them by one long if not agreeable one. You seem vexed at me for still, as you deem, considering you and writing to you as a child. You are utterly

mistaken, my dear sister. I entertain no such notion of you, but, on the contrary, am thrice proud of your sense, talents, and accomplishments; and as for my letters to you, good lack, what is there for me to talk of? This is the veriest retreat in the world, and, without change of scene, event, or character, I live on in it, as from day to day, so from year to year.

"What shall I say to a mercurial, accomplished girl of your age unless I draw upon my imagination for topics? Shall I be content to tell you that I usually, at this season when the mornings are cold and foggy, rise at eight o'clock, go to breakfast at nine, get up from the breakfast-table at ten? Then, alas! indite a public letter to Government acquainting the Right Honourable the Governor-General of the continued disposition of the Court of Kathmandu to maintain the relations of amity and concord for some time past so happily established. Or turn over some of my heaps of raw materials for the future investigation of the manners and institutions of the Nepalese, and sigh to see how far from sufficient for the object in view those materials still are, after ten years of search. Or mount my horse and follow the strenuous idleness of woodcock-shooting; or take up my Cuvier and seek in him how to dispose some of my now numerous and valuable ornithological specimens; or pore over some book taking a general and scientific view of the subject of law—more for edification, in this last instance, than pleasure.

"Thus, one way or other, I more or less rationally consume the hours till about four o'clock, when, if I have not been shooting, I put my hat on head, take my stick in hand, and stroll forth, the very model of a country gentleman, to look at my garden, my grounds, or my farmyard. At six, home to dress for dinner, which is served at half-past six o'clock. Eating and drinking and chat, or billiards or backgammon, till nine, when my two guests retire and I draw my chair to the fireside, and, taking up the last work that has reached me from my bookseller in Cornhill,

read and meditate till midnight, or haply till one o'clock. Then to bed, and so ends the day.

"Then for the variations. Say, I indite no solemn trifling about amity and concord to the Governor-General, but have some heroic tale to tell how Gopi Mohan Das, a Nepalese, crossed the frontier, seized and carried off into this territory from under the shadow of the Company's wing, Deo Datt, Bengali; said Deo Datt having five years before bought some timber of said Gopi Mohan, and perseveringly excused himself from paying for the same.

"Or perchance (as has this very hour occurred) the Court scribe comes to me and explains how a Captain So-and-so, the Company's public agent for supply of timber, won't settle his accounts with one Girdhari Choudry, a Nepalese timber merchant. Meanwhile, in all probability, the said Captain has already paid and settled all that was and is due to said Choudry; and, moreover, has had the unheard-of effrontery and cruelty to bid said Choudry produce his books before a set of arbitrators of both nations, in order that these books and those of the Captain may show how matters stand between the litigants.

"Say, I go not a-woodcock-shooting because birds are sadly scarce and the toil too great for the spoil, why then if I must ramble, and 'tis too fine weather to sit at home, I am off to some grassy bank with my comrades and a basket of prog, and we three dream away the day in Jacques' style. Or haply I go alone, for my companions are no antiquaries, and explore some old Buddhist temple and muse and meditate, like the famous Roman amid the Ruins, upon the changes and chances of this mutable world. Here are before me the traces of a creed which once divided with Brahmanism the minds of the Hindus, but of which no visible trace, nay, not even an intelligible legend, remains in all the vast continent of India!

"The end of my paper! Why then it is time to let you know that, as the Governor-General lately passed up the country, he stayed three days with the D'Oylys, and that

excellent woman Lady D. (for mama says I must not call her Eliza) attacked the great man upon his usage of me, making me do the Resident's work and giving me only half the pay. The Right Honourable the Governor-General said I was a proper person enough, and applauded the talent manifested in a recent report made by me, and added what a thousand pities it was I was so very young. There, Mistress Fanny, you see you are not the only body in the world who has reason to be wrathful because some folks will have it that he or she has not come to years of discretion! The truth is that these are saving times, and the Governor-General the prince of political economists. And verily, if he does not supersede me, he will keep me *chargé d'affaires* for another year for the sake of the saving.

"He showed my said report to the Lord Bishop, and the Church joined the State in applauses: as the Church told Lady D'Oyly (for the Church too is migratory in India) when recently said Church personified, *alias* the Bishop, passed Patna on his or its way down to Calcutta. Yet I get only half-pay, and am beginning now and then to con over Falstaff's apostrophe to Honour! And yet I am well and happy, and, but for our dear parents, have enough and to spare.

"And now, having got the advantage over you in prospect, by the inditement of this so long and charming epistle, I have a great mind to have my scold too, in return for yours.

"Tell me, Fan, how is it that your letters to William come so much more from the heart than those to me? It is like soul to one and the body to the other: and cousin Mary too can write to dearest William! And sister Fan and cousin Mary can finally and decisively settle that one brother is a dear, frolicsome, spirited fellow, fit to fill woman's eye and heart, whilst the other is the most perfect of beings—that is the greatest bore, simply!

"So long as I lived in the world I was, by all men's

voice, a 'lady's man,' and truly I feel not that I am altered, albeit I have not seen the fringe of a petticoat for eight years, and therefore dare not speak positively. But then I am, I must be, a bookworm! Books I love! But are they all grave books? and does my love of books make me less bold a rider, less keen and good a shot, less able at billiards, cricket, quoits? Perhaps the whole secret of the misapprehensions is, that you and Will remember each other perfectly, you and I most imperfectly.

"Alas, alas, and as for letters, consider what a different condition I stand in to that of William in respect to the letters I must write and receive from our dearest parents. I must talk and feel gravely when I take up the pen, and so must they. Nor can it be otherwise until, with God's blessing, I have been enabled to take off entirely the load that has ever pressed on them since my reason and memory dawned—a day of liberation for them, how ardently longed for by me, and surely now not far off!

"Thus it is that you have come to imagine me to yourself as a most grave and reverend senior brother, who could not even sympathise heartily with a sister because she was a woman. Dearest Fanny, you do me grievous wrong by such imaginings. For wise or foolish in whatever degree, I have ever worshipped woman, and have ever held her to be worthy the worship of the highest and greatest of our sex.

"And now I must conclude. William has lately taken a trip to the Western Hills, and has come back to Meerut in perfect health and spirits. A thousand thanks for your pretty little present, which I kiss for thy sake now at this moment as I hold it in my hand. God bless thee, dearest, and think of me no longer as the 'most perfect of human beings,' but as a most affectionate brother merely, and one whom nature made of so gay a temperament that even all our domestic woes have not turned me serious. I never peeped into Trophonius' cave, and never mean to do till you cease to love me."

Hodgson's hope of being appointed full Resident in Nepal was not immediately realised. He held the officiating appointment for two years after Gardner's retirement in 1829, but the Governor-General very properly thought him too young for the permanent responsibility of so involved and important a position. So in 1831 T. Herbert Maddock (afterwards Sir Herbert) was sent to Kathmandu. Maddock was four years senior to Hodgson and had recently held high political offices in the Native States, including perhaps the most important of all—the Residency in Oudh. He soon satisfied himself that Hodgson, young though he was, might be entrusted with the management of the Nepalese Court, and he seems to have impressed this view on the Governor-General.

Indeed Hodgson's work and reports had by that time attracted high praise, not only at headquarters in Calcutta, but also from the Court of Directors in London. Accordingly, when Maddock took furlough in 1833, Lord William Bentinck appointed Hodgson, having just completed his fourteenth year of service, to be Resident in Nepal. Maddock carried away from Kathmandu a fixed opinion as to Hodgson's sterling qualities which made him a friend for life, and enabled him to speak with conviction in the final crisis of Hodgson's career.

The income of the Resident was £4,000 a year. But Hodgson, abstemious in his personal habits, had borrowed sums to send home, and still owed money to his banker. His one ambition in life was to free his parents from the burden of debt "that had ever pressed on them since his reason and memory dawned." He also spent considerable amounts on the purchase and copying of Buddhist or Sanskrit manuscripts, and the preparation of zoological specimens, which he presented in a munificent spirit to the Asiatic and other learned or scientific Societies. But if his public and private liberality prevented him from saving, it richly rewarded him in the way most congenial to his nature. By this time, as we shall

see in subsequent chapters, he was beginning to be recognised in Europe as a man of unique research into the languages, religion, and zoology of the Himalayan regions. He had also the happiness of aiding to set forth his youngest brother on his start in life as a Bengal civilian in 1831-2, and of again receiving his soldier brother William as his guest at Kathmandu. William had a return of ill-health in 1831,[1] and spent another whole year with Brian.

But the sense of isolation becomes more intense as the years roll on. In 1833 he writes to his sister: "I am, and long have been, secluded from society, without wife, child, or any other object of affection." He is afraid of "petrifying within," and begs for less respect and a warmer love. At the same time he feels the stern pleasures of responsibility and work. Here are a few paragraphs from a letter to "my dearest Fan," dated October 22nd, 1833.

"I am thirty-three—the last thirteen years passed in the wilderness without wife, children, or the presence of a female. No change, no society! What think you I am likely then to be? Something, at least, sweet Fan, standing in need of more of your affection than I have yet experienced. So entirely are we strangers to each other's habits and occupations, that I feel the awkwardness of a stranger in attempting to interest you in what concerns me, and in asking you to repay me in kind. Alas! this should not be, should not have been. To William you are a constant and garrulous correspondent, and yet William loves you not better than I do, and stands far less in need of feminine affection. I think I shall begin a Diary, and send it you from time to time through my London bookseller.

"I am, and have been since February, Resident Minister

[1] Granted leave to visit Kathmandu on sick certificate for nine months, G. O., March 5th, 1831; extended for four months to rejoin, G. O., November 4th, 1831.—*India Office Records.*

at this Court, the only independent[1] one now left in India. Sufficient honour for thirty-three! But my situation is by no means so agreeable as it might be if these barbarians did but know their own good. Instead of which they are insolent and hostile, and play off on us, as far as they can and dare, the Chinese etiquette and foreign polity. The Celestial Emperor is their idol, and, by the way, whilst I write, the [Nepalese] sovereign himself is passing by the Residency in all royal pomp to go three miles in order to receive a letter which has just reached Nepal from Pekin. There they go! Fifty chiefs on horseback, royalty and royalty's advisers on eight elephants, and three thousand troops before and behind the cavalcade! They have reached the spot. The Emperor's letter, enclosed in a cylinder covered with brocade, hangs round the neck of a chief; the Prince descends from his elephant to take the epistle, a royal salute is fired, the letter is restored to the chief, who, mounted on a spare elephant, is placed at the head of the cavalcade, and the *cortège* sweeps back to the capital.

"Shall I tell you how I spend a day? Breakfast at ten, business till two. Then luncheon, after which I read till five. From five to seven drive or ride out, dinner at eight, chat with the gentlemen[2] till ten, and read again till twelve or one, my bedtime. The roads are not very carrossable, but well suited for riding at all seasons, and I am a cheerful and bold cavalier. The valley, about sixteen miles long and broad, is beautiful except in winter. At present it presents an unbroken sheet of golden rice, just ready for the sickle. When the major part of the crop is down—there being excellent quail-shooting in the standing patches—but for the consciousness of doing wrong by injuring the poor peasant, I should enjoy the amusement. That feeling has latterly made me give up

[1] As distinguished from the feudatory States.

[2] His staff, consisting of his assistant, the officer in command of his escort, and his surgeon.

shooting in the crops, and I shall this year confine myself to the woods, wherein pheasants and woodcocks may be found. The wood-shooting lasts from November till March, and during that time one may be abroad all day without fear of the solar beam.

"At other seasons I read and read and read, and love nothing so well as my books. Yet have I a fund of constitutional gaiety and feeling; only there is no one to draw upon it!

"Zoology in the branches of birds and quadrupeds amuses me much. I have three native artists always employed in drawing from nature. I possess a live tiger, a wild sheep, a wild goat, four bears, three civets, and three score of our beautiful pheasants. A rare menagerie! And my drawings now amount to two thousand. The antiquities, too, of the land afford me much entertainment. I pore over the pictorial, sculptural, and architectural monuments of Buddhism by the light of the ancient books of the sect; and the learned Thebans of your isle appear to gather up my gleanings with eagerness. But the past chiefly interests me as it can be made to illustrate the present—the origin, genius, character, and attainments of the people.

"I have published a good deal already in the Asiatic Society's *Transactions* of London and of Calcutta. In the *Journal des Savans* there is a review of my sketch of Buddhism by a famous scholar of Germany, in which I am given all sorts of laudation and placed at the head of all who have treated the subject. I sent home for you my diploma as Ambassador, and also the Court of Directors' public thanks for my papers researching into the institutions, laws, and resources of this kingdom.

"William has been ill again, but is now well in the Western Hills. He will be down soon and meet Edward at Meerut. Edward is well and strong, and his promise as good as you could wish. He has reached Meerut, and commenced his public career. The Governor-General's

private secretary, who was very kind to him at Calcutta, speaks most highly of him. The D'Oylys have returned from the Cape, and are now at Calcutta. He has been very ill, and I fear is but a bad life. She is all that I desire to honour and love.

"Dearest, I have just got your letter of May 2nd. Heaven bless you and make you thrice happy in your marriage. Give my love to Pierre,[1] and make him write with you to me. . . . God bless you. With fondest love to all, believe me, sweet Fan, thine affectionate

"B. H. HODGSON."

If I quote from more than one letter the routine of his daily life, it is in order that the reader may realise the gentle monotony which pervaded his whole twenty years in Nepal.

In 1834 his brother William had another breakdown in health, and Brian determined to give him a more complete change of climate than could be obtained in Nepal. A subaltern of artillery who was an invalid during more than half his service formed a heavy drain on the fraternal purse. "I mean to send him to the Cape," Brian writes to Fanny on September 15th, 1834, "where he will draw his full pay, save money if he pleases, and enjoy a fine climate. Eighteen months hence I can recommend him to come here and command my escort in the room of Captain Robinson, who will then retire.

"I am now sojourning at a caravansery on the summit of the ridge of mountains limiting the valley to the east. The spot is about one thousand feet above the valley, and enjoys a much cooler and more bracing temperature, which, I am sorry to say, is but too needful for me just now. During all August I suffered from liver, and am still complaining, though better. Send me a particular account of your new [married] establishment and mode of life. With-

[1] Her husband, Baron Pierre Nahuys, afterwards Governor of Overyssel.

out such minute touches continually renewed, our great distance gradually renders everything indistinct.

"My society is unchanging and limited to my suite—a secretary, commander of escort, and surgeon, all very pleasant folks in their various ways. The first is a brother-civilian, young, sceptical, and gay. The second, a worthy captain of foot, selfish but discreet, and whose scientific pursuits form an odd contrast to the plain and unformed character of his mind in other respects. He has a charming temper, the continual sunshine of which is worth all the intellectual gifts of fifty abler persons. The doctor is about my own age, and is sensible, spirited, and amiable.

"After breakfast I discharge my official duties, which, though responsible, are not onerous, and then read. My favourite amusements of the sedentary kind are researches into the origin, genius, and attainments of the various singular races of men inhabiting Nepal. Its birds and quadrupeds likewise agreeably diversify my easier hours of study. After lunch, billiards for an hour, and then reading till eventide, when I exercise on horseback or in vehicle. After dinner, chat only, eked out from books—no cards, our society being too limited and peculiarly connected for that.

"In the six colder months I follow the woodcock and pheasant with all the energy of a Nimrod, and I always deeply relish the sweet air and noble scenery of this fine region. Upon the whole my life, though monotonous, flags not, nor is liable to tedium, and with good health I should not envy the Monarch of Great Britain. In about six or seven years I hope to rejoin you, with the aid of my pension and my slender savings in prospect; for still I am in debt. God bless you and your husband. Your most affectionate brother,

"B. H. HODGSON."

Next year, 1835, brought a great sorrow to Hodgson. His brother Edward, the young civilian, whom he described

a few months before as "well and merry at Meerut," died. The poor lad, like Brian a keen sportsman, caught a fatal fever from snipe-shooting in the swamps. Like Brian also, he had distinguished himself at Haileybury, carrying away six prizes in Arabic, Hindustani, and Bengali. He ended his brief Indian career in his very first appointment as Assistant Commissioner at Meerut, in July 1835.[1] Brian, after breaking the news to his father, tried to comfort his sister in their common bereavement.

"MY OWN DEAR FANNY,[2]—How I sympathise with your regrets for young Edward—the last and so recently known and seen of your brothers! But do not mourn unduly. Happy, thrice happy they who quit this troubled scene ere the bloom of their virtuous feelings has been rubbed off! Poor boy, he dreamed not of fatal consequences, and of course left no will. The Registrar of the King's Court will administer: his debts will become mine; and I have taken measures to secure the possession of whatever may serve to remind us of him, such as his prize books, trinkets, etc.

"Already had he given evidence of such talents and dispositions as made his immediate superiors forward to employ and advance him. In his private capacity he had won so much respect from the society of Meerut that all the station combined to honour his remains. Let these things be your consolation.

"I write to you from a cottage on one of the boundary ridges of the valley, built for my convenience by the Court, which is growing very civil and courteous. The cottage is a pretty domicile, though small, and commands a double view of the valleys of Nepal proper and of Nayakot, to the east and west respectively. The elevation is 2,500 feet above the former, 3,500 above the latter, and 7,000

[1] His short service is thus summed up in the India Office MS. Records: Edward Legh Hodgson, 1832, arrived September 22nd as writer; 1833, Assistant to Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Meerut Division; died July 3rd, 1835, at Meerut.

[2] August 1st, 1835.

higher than the sea-level, as indicated by the boiling of water at 199° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, as well as by the barometer. At present the foggy or rather misty drizzle is inconvenient, but the temperature is charming—65° being the maximum heat.

"There is not much level space, but the undulations of the hill's summit are graceful, and covered by superb forest of rhododendron, oak, and numberless Laurifolias. The sward is an emerald, and the familiar tokens it displays of England in its daisies, fern, thistle, and colewort, are dear to the exile! Parallel with the course of the ridge, one can walk and ride a native pony with ease and pleasure. But there is no transverse development of flat ground; and in the direction of either valley, a lusty bound from the door might carry you a good way towards either!

"I am felling, and digging, and sowing potatoes and oats—yea, with my own proper hand. Somewhat to the admiration of the Court gentry, who, however, have very little of the pompous inanity of Asiatic high-breeding about them, and, I believe, value me the more for my simple habits. The air and exercise do me good, nor have I for five years been so well at this season as I am now! I want William and his little wife to join me,[1] and think I shall be able to effect this object in December. He will command my bodyguard of two hundred soldiers, and his wife may perhaps help to wean me from some bad bachelor habits. William is now at Patna preparing to wed, and if he join me, he will stay there till the cessation of the malaria at the foot of the hills allows him to come up.

"Marriage will make him more careful of his health. As he is now near thirty, it is well that it should be so; especially since seclusion has, I suspect, fixed my proud and shy natural character against incurring the hazards

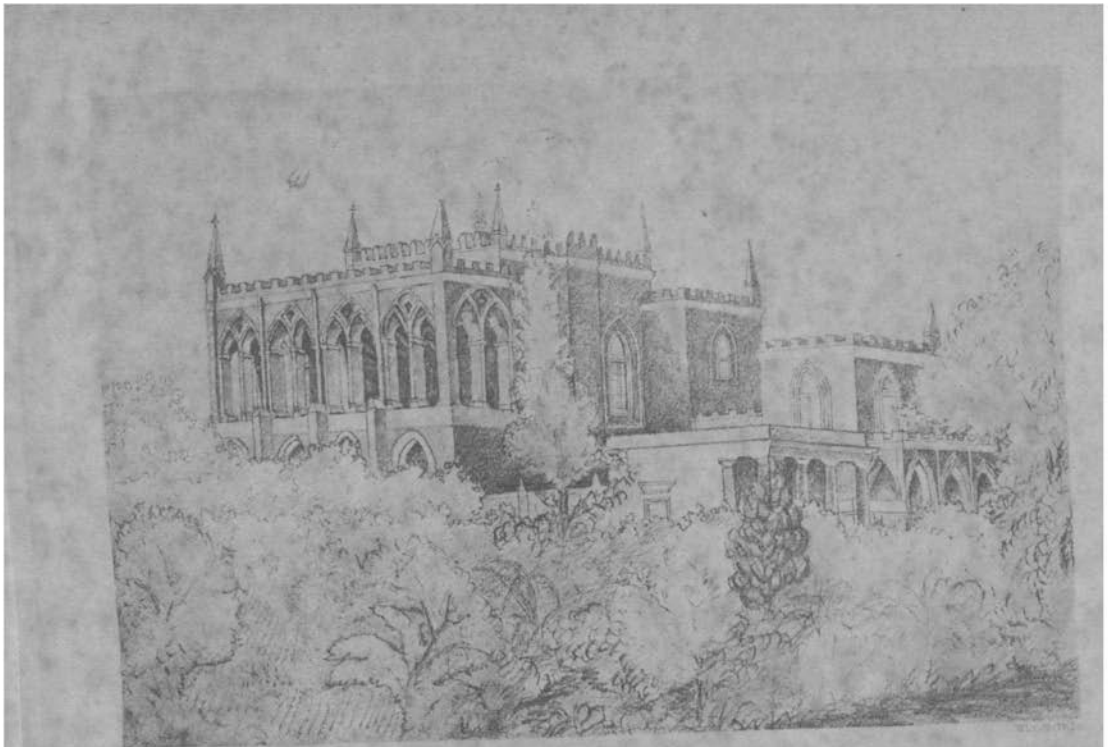
[1] A project never to be realised, and probably in the state of public feeling in Nepal at that time regarding "a white-faced woman" not possible of realisation. See *post*, p. 86, footnote.

of possible rejection. I have cherished in my solitude by means of literature quick sensibilities, whilst I have lost the aptitude of indulging them, except speculatively and in reference to my beloved home. Thou, dearest Fan, shalt preside over my table, if it be God's pleasure that we meet again in England. God bless you, dearest."

Hodgson had now for some years been established in the Residency, and his love of gardening did much to beautify its surroundings. It was a spacious, indeed an imposing, edifice in that Indo-Gothic style which has grown up in spite of some ridicule in Bengal, and of which perhaps the best-known examples are the Cathedral and the High Court at Calcutta. He delighted in the thought that it afforded ample room for him to make a home for his brother and newly wedded wife, and for any family which might come to the couple. A steady income of £4,000 a year enabled him not only to provide new comforts for his parents in England, but to pay off the debts which he had previously incurred for that purpose.

The staff of native copyists and draughtsmen whom he employed to copy Buddhist manuscripts and to draw his collection of Himalayan birds and mammals now ceased to be felt in his annual expenses. For the aggregate pay of a dozen such assistants did not much exceed Rs. 3,000 (£300) a year, less than his salary for a month. Honours, too, began to rain upon him. The Royal Asiatic Society and the Linnean Society in England elected him to their bodies with flattering expressions of regard. The Zoological Society of London sent him their diploma as a corresponding member. The Société Asiatique de Paris and the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle paid him high distinction. Scholars and naturalists of worldwide fame sought a correspondence with him: Csoma de Körös, Burnouf, Jacquet, Mohl, Prinsep, S. Wilkinson, [Lord] Macaulay.

By the middle of 1837, he had got together the materials



THE RESIDENCY, NEPAL.

for a great illustrated work on the Birds and Mammals of Nepal. The Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris and other learned bodies came forward as supporters, three hundred and thirty subscribers were already registered in India, and in July 1837 he was able to write to his father that the means of publication were secured. "I make sure of three hundred and fifty to four hundred subscribers, and if we say £10 per copy of the work, this list should cover all expenses. Granted my first drawings were stiff and bad, but the new series may challenge comparison with any in existence." In another letter, with his usual generosity, he makes over the property in the book to his father. All he required was an assistant in England to catalogue his birds, and carry out some technical details, for which "£100 shall be forthcoming." He would thus be enabled to go on without interruption with his *Zoology of Nepal*, to which he hoped to put the finishing touches by 1840.

Hodgson's official work at this time acquired an unwonted importance from factious struggles among the Gurkha chiefs, and from the palace intrigues of the royal family destined soon to end in revolution. The Governor-General began to fix an anxious eye on his Nepalese neighbour who had already cost the British two hard-fought campaigns. Hodgson noted the signs of the gathering storm, and found himself unexpectedly a personage of importance in the great game of Indian politics.

I advert for a moment to these public and literary aspects of his work, as they throw a side-light on his inner life, which forms the sole subject of this chapter. He had never been so busy or in such good health, and in April 1837 he was able at last to write to his sister that he had got rid of his debts. "I am beginning to save a little money! But I must pay Rs. 50,000 to get the pension,[1] and I am not worth half that sum now. So if I

[1] Of £1,000 a year after twenty-five years' service. Then as now, the Indian Government contributed only a portion (now not exceeding

must wait till I amass a few pounds of my own beyond the pension, I shall hardly be able to leave India in 1840, as I purpose doing if I can." He had hoped to take leave for three years to England in 1840, and then resign at the end of his furlough in 1843, when he should have completed his twenty-five years of service.

Moreover a new source of happiness had come into Hodgson's life. He had formed a domestic connection with a Musalman lady which, although not amounting to marriage in the legal sense, was strictly observed as such by both parties as long as she lived, and extended over twenty years. No Englishwoman was allowed to reside in Nepal, then considered a dangerous outpost of British diplomacy.[1] Of Hodgson's domestic relations at this period I shall only say that he communicated them frankly to his own family, and watched with a father's care over his children, who were brought up by his sister in Holland with all the advantages to which his position entitled them. They formed a well-spring of comfort in his heretofore solitary existence, and their early deaths were a deep sorrow to him. It is characteristic of him that there was no concealment on the subject either at the time or when he subsequently married, and it would have been his wish that I should deal with the matter in the same candid spirit.

The year 1837, which found him in good health, free from debt, in the enjoyment of scholarly fame and high

£600 a year) of a civilian's pension. Each officer has to pay up the equivalent of the remaining £400; usually much more. In some cases a Bengal civilian's contributions from his pay exceeded, and still exceed, the whole actuarial value of his pension of £1,000.

[1] Even as late as 1843, on Sir Henry Lawrence being appointed Resident in Nepal, "there were 'many fears and misgivings that he might not be allowed to take his wife to a country where no white-faced woman had ever been seen'; for as in China so in Nepal there was a tradition that 'the introduction of a foreign woman would be the downfall of their empire.'"—Mrs. Lawrence's Journal, quoted in Sir Herbert Edwardes' *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, Vol. I., p. 449. Ed. 1872.

official distinction, was destined to end in a sickness which seemed unto death. His old malady returned in an aggravated form, and forced him to seek the specialist aid which could only be obtained in Calcutta. Flight from India and a sea voyage again appeared his only chance. But a crisis took place, apparently caused by the bursting of a tumour in the liver, and he once more rallied. In March 1838 he was able to return to Nepal. In April he writes to his mother that he is so much stronger "that I hope I shall ere long shake off the last dregs of my obstinate disease."

His recovery perhaps saved the East India Company a war with Nepal. We shall afterwards see with what a cool head and firm hand he steered his course through the next five years of palace intrigues and fits of turbulent insolence towards the British Power. His strength and spirits rose with each new danger, and in December 1839 he assures his sister of his re-established health. "I am grown prudent and money-making," he adds, "though somewhat late in the day. My children are well, and make my heart glad and soft amid all the rough obstructions of life."

Part of Hodgson's influence with the Nepal chiefs was due to the extraordinary reputation which he acquired at this time as a man of ascetic life, deeply versed in divine things. His Buddhistic learning won the friendship of their Tibetan over-lord, the Grand Lama himself. His unwearied search after Sanskrit manuscripts and his transcriptions of Hindu texts endeared him to the pandits about the Nepal Court. Always an abstemious man, he became after his severe illness in 1837 almost a Brahman in regard to food and drink. In 1839 he wrote to his sister, "I touch not meats or wines, and find the Indian habits of food well suited to the climate." By his strictly vegetarian diet he acquired the sobriquet of "The Hermit of the Himalayas," and a sanctity in the eyes of the Nepalese only equalled by that which Csoma de Körös gained in the snowed-up monastic cells of Tibet.

But the year 1838, while it saw him on the road to renewed health and increased usefulness, brought the second great sorrow of his life. His brother William had been transferred to the Horse Artillery in 1835,[1] and Brian hoped, as we have seen, to obtain for him the command of his escort as Resident in Nepal. These fraternal plans were cut short by the renewed illness of Captain Hodgson, who reached his Majority on June 11th, 1838, after only fourteen years' service.[2] It was an empty promotion. He died on the very next day at Mhow, June 12th, 1838, and his young widow went home to England very desolate. She had buried her infant a few months before.

So the two younger brothers passed away, full of youthful promise, and Brian was left as the sole surviving son. He had during nearly twenty years been the mainstay of the Canterbury home, and he now devoted the whole powers of his gentle and chivalrous nature to comfort his bereaved parents. Brian could give them the satisfaction of knowing that both his brothers were cared for in their last hours by his friend [Sir] Robert Hamilton. He had soon to calm his mother's anxieties for his own safety amid the crisis in Nepal brought on by the Kabul war.

Throughout that expedition, and after the annihilation of the British army with which it closed, his position was one of extreme peril. Indeed at certain junctures it seemed as if the best that could be hoped for the Nepalese Resident was that he would not get murdered until it became convenient to the Indian Government to avenge his death. His letters home ridicule the idea of personal danger. It is doubtful whether he himself ever gave it a thought, although "the force" to which he refers lay too far off within our own provinces to be any safeguard against a massacre at the Residency in Nepal. He makes the whole situation appear to his parents as merely an occasion for

[1] General Order dated May 22nd, 1835.
[2] General Order dated June 11th, 1838.

pleasant things being said of him by the authorities in India.

"My dearest Mother," he wrote in 1840, "don't let the nonsense of the papers alarm you. 'Tis all stuff and ever has been. Before, I was unarmed as it were; whereas I have now a force close at hand consisting of five regiments, with guns, etc." He then quotes from some letters which he had just received. "I cordially congratulate you," the Secretary of the Government had lately written to him, "on your important successes. The credit will remain with you in Indian history." "You have been placed in a situation very delicate and trying," wrote our Resident with the neighbouring King of Oudh, "and you have done your work with wisdom, nerve, and promptitude."

And so on throughout those trying years, the tone in his letters growing more and more reassuring in regard to himself, as our blunders in Afghanistan culminated towards the extermination of a British army in the snows.

"My dearest Father," he writes in 1841, "I have just got my mother's welcome letter of January, and truly rejoice to hear from such dear lips the echo of the public applauses you speak of, and of which I have received yet more since then. I have had another negotiation, another struggle, another victory. Yet all is unsettled, and my ambition is bounded just now to keeping things anyhow together until the return of the season of action in November, when I sadly fear it will be indispensable to inflict the long-merited and long-provoked punishment.

"I have now temporised successfully for three eventful years during which Government's hands were full, as they are, alas! still. Alack, alack, all is going wrong again in and beyond the Punjab. The Sikhs in anarchic rebellion, Kandahar afresh disturbed, and the Persians moving on Herat which the virtual ruler there has tendered to them, having expelled our Envoy and caused him to flee. All these untoward events are glad tidings to the insolent and restless faction of our Rani or Queen of Nepal, who is my

great opponent, and only effective one indeed, the Raja being but a poltroon who fights behind her petticoat. Enough of politics, however. As for personals, I am pretty well and gradually growing stronger since the attack of 1837, but after all a poor creature as to health, though I live the life of a literal hermit. You must remember, however, that I never was strong, and therefore have no right to expect to be so now.

"My boy and girl are well and growing up fast. I must send them to school in the Western Hills ere long, unless you will take charge of them, but I may not put you to that trouble. It is long since you told me aught of the Cheshire folks, or of my boyhood friends C. Hutton, J. Davenport, the Nassaus, etc. My tenderest love to Fanny and Ellen, and to my mother, to whom I am sending a pair of shawls. Your ever affectionate son,

"B. H. HODGSON."

The final catastrophe in Afghanistan arrived, and on February 28th, 1842, Lord Auckland made over the Governor-Generalship of India to the Earl of Ellenborough. Hodgson had, as we saw, wished to take furlough in 1840, with a view to retiring from the service on the completion of his covenanted period of twenty-five years in 1843. But the critical situation in Nepal rendered it impossible that he should be spared. Indeed, on the approach of the dangers which our Afghan policy brought about, from 1840 onward to the annihilation of our army in 1842, Hodgson gave up any idea of quitting his post. Until March 1842 everything seemed to promise him an honoured close to his career. But the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, came out with a strong predisposition against the measures and the men of his predecessor. It will be necessary, in the chapter dealing with Hodgson's public career, to refer fully to Lord Ellenborough's action in regard to Nepal. It must therefore suffice to say that Hodgson, like other trusted agents

of Lord Auckland, speedily found his position slipping from under his feet.

"My dearest Fan," he wrote[1] to his sister not five months after he had received the public and private thanks of Lord Auckland for the masterly firmness with which he had tided Nepal over the crisis, "I am ashamed of having neglected you so much. But, dearest, I have been overwhelmed in a sea of troubles political, owing to the misapprehension of the new head of my Government, as well as to the knavery of this State. I am still struggling and striving, and heartily hope I shall be able to open the new Governor-General's eyes in time to prevent mischief to the public interests, owing to his promptness going too far ahead of his necessarily limited knowledge. I cannot say more, intelligibly nor even properly, but may add that for a month past I have been deprived of my secretary, whom I found it expedient to send to the Governor-General in lieu of self, when feeble health incapacitated me for such a journey. I have therefore only with me my surgeon Dr. Burnley; but he is a very amiable person, and I am used to small society. If I can disentangle myself from Nepalese affairs by December, I purpose to hasten home to our beloved parents. . . .

"I am still ailing as usual, but better than I was last year or the year before at this season, and if it please God I shall gradually master the fierce attack of 1837. My children are well, and their sweet prattle and infant arts soften my heart and amuse my leisure. I shall take them home with me, for I have no idea of putting off the highest duties of our nature at the suggestion of mere vanity or convenience. I wish I could hear that you had a prattler or two; but if not, by-and-by I shall borrow your help to train mine. All your details of your domestic establishment and visits to England interest me greatly. You can never be too minute on such topics, nor indeed on any that interest you, for detail is the soul of correspondence. I

[1] Letter dated August 2nd, 1842.

hear from all quarters the praises of your excellent husband, to whom give my love, and believe me, dear Fan, your most affectionate brother,

"B. H. H."

The opening paragraph of this letter shows the good temper with which Hodgson endeavoured to meet the change in his position. But that position soon became untenable. Lord Ellenborough had resolved on a new policy towards Nepal. Before the end of Lord Ellenborough's first year of office, Hodgson began sadly to realise that his power for usefulness had departed. "Oh that the Governor-General had not tied my hands!" In the same year his long tenure of office as Resident in Nepal came to a close, and in February 1844 he retired from the Indian Service.

The object of this chapter has not been to record his official labours, or his achievements in literature or scholarship. His many-sided public labours will be dealt with in due course. But I have thought it right first of all to try to show the man apart from his work—very solitary, perhaps unduly sensitive, of strong family affections, the mainstay of the distant parental home, and asking with a pathetic insistence, not for gratitude, but only for a little sisterly love.

CHAPTER VII.

ASSISTANT RESIDENT IN NEPAL.

1825—1833.

I RETURN now to the public aspects of his career. In 1824 Hodgson went back to Nepal with a heavy heart. "Sensible that by remaining there," runs one of his brief notes, "I might indeed acquire a special qualification for the embassy, but must disqualify myself for anything elsewhere; while owing to my youth the chance of obtaining, on a vacancy occurring, so desiderated a post as that of Minister at the Court of Nepal was next to nothing"—he sought the counsel of an experienced friend. Mr. William Butterworth Bayley had been one of the group of talented young civilians whom Lord Wellesley formed around himself (1798—1805) with a view to training up an Indian diplomatic service. Lord Wellesley not only reorganised the Native States on the basis of subsidiary alliances or Protectorates, which remains to this day; he also determined to create under his own eye a school of officers who should perpetuate his foreign and feudatory policy. Some of these young "Politicals," as they were called, became in due time ambassadors; others controlled great Native States; others, after taking part in the annexation of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, were recalled to the higher branches of the general administration.

Among the most distinguished of this last class was William Butterworth Bayley, the only Bengal civilian who has ever held the position of Acting Governor-General of India, and also that of Chairman of the Court of Directors

at home. It is a curious instance of the longevity of some Anglo-Indian families that the son[1] of Lord Wellesley's young Political in the first years of the century now holds, during its last decade, the office of chief Political Secretary at the India Office—after an Indian service of his own extending over thirty-four years and ending as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Mr. Butterworth Bayley was a member of the Governor-General's Council when Hodgson came to him for advice. "Having listened attentively to my statement," writes Hodgson, "Bayley replied: 'True, Nepal is in every sense peculiar, and in the present quiet times you can learn little there. But we have had one fierce struggle with Nepal, and we shall yet have another. When that event occurs there will be very special need for local experience. Go back and master the subject in all its phases, and then, despite your youth and the many men your seniors in the service who will try to get the embassy, you will have a fair chance of succeeding.'"[2]

[1] Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, K.C.S.I. This was written in 1895. Sir Steuart Bayley has since then been appointed a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

[2] Mr. William Butterworth Bayley's life, and that of his father the philanthropist, are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VII. As Mr. W. B. Bayley was an important influence on Hodgson's career, I subjoin the list of his services from the India Office MS. Records. BAYLEY, WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH: 1799, arrived November 6th, as Writer; 1803, Assistant in Governor-General's Office and to Persian Translator; 1805, Deputy Registrar to Sadr Diwani and Nizamat Adalat; Assistant to Registrar and Translator of the same Court; 1807, Persian and Hindustani Translator to Commissioners of Settlements in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces; Registrar to the Sadr Diwani and Nizamat Adalat; 1808, Member of Committee of the General Post Office; 1809, Judge and Magistrate of Dacca Jelalpur; 1810, Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan; 1814, Fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal at Bareilly, afterwards at Dacca; Officiating Secretary, Revenue and Judicial Departments; 1815, Secretary, Revenue and Judicial Departments; 1817, Acting Chief Secretary; 1819, Chief Secretary to Government; 1820, Member of Council of the College of Fort William; 1821, Member of the Presidency Records Committee; 1822, Acting Member

"I did as I was advised," adds Hodgson, and subsequent events fully justified Mr. Bayley's advice. Hodgson not only succeeded to the Residency, but his supreme knowledge of Nepalese affairs enabled him to carry the interests of the Government of India through a crisis which, under less experienced guidance, must have forced on us a campaign. "Fortunately," writes the learned and impartial historian of Nepal, "by the skilful management of the Resident, Mr. Hodgson, war was averted."[1]

Meanwhile Hodgson, on being finally reappointed Assistant in 1825, discovered that the little world in which he was to be isolated for the next nineteen years (1824—1843) was an extremely curious one. Its three central figures were the Queen-Regent, the Prime Minister, and the British Resident: the two former, personages with romantic histories and strong wills of their own; the third, a man of unwearied patience and tact.

The story of the Princess Tripuri,[2] Queen-Regent of Nepal, reads like an Eastern tale. When Hodgson was reappointed Assistant Resident in 1825, she had been a widow for twenty-one years. Her husband—a bad, weak, and cruel youth—had "shared the fate which has attended every Gurkha Raja of Nepal," says the official narrative,[3] almost since the date of the Gurkha conquest.

of the Supreme Council of the Governor-General; 1823, President of the Council of the College of Fort William; Member of General Committee of Public Instruction; 1825, Head Member of the Supreme Council; 1828, Provisional Governor-General of India (*appointed March 13th*); President of the Board of Trade; 1830, Vice-President and Deputy Governor; on furlough to Europe December 26th; 1834, retired from Service May 1st on an annuity; 1833, elected a Director of the E. I. Company July 23rd; served on the Direction till 1858; Deputy Chairman in 1839; Chairman in 1840; died May 29th, 1860, at St. Leonards-on-Sea.

[1] *History of Nepal*, by Daniel Wright, M.A., M.D., p. 55 (Cambridge University Press, 1877).

[2] Her Highness the Maharani Lalit-Tripur-Sundari Devi.

[3] Report dated Kathmandu, July 24th, 1837, written by Officiating Assistant to the Resident, Nepal (Dr. A. Campbell), under Mr.

During three generations,[1] from 1777 onwards, that fate had been to succeed as a child to a distracted sovereignty, to be debauched during a long minority by Ministers ambitious of retaining their power, and to reach young manhood designedly unfit to rule, and half insane from premature vices. The unfortunate prince[2] who succeeded as an infant in 1777[3] grew up a slave to fits of "uncontrolled ferocity and passion."[4]

He married three wives. The first was the Princess Tripuri, daughter of a Raja—"a virtuous and high-minded lady,"[5] but childless. The second was the daughter of a middle-class landholder. The third was a beautiful Brahman girl whom the young prince kidnapped and forcibly seduced. The avenging gods smote her with small-pox, and she died, or poisoned herself, after the birth of a child. The young king in his first fury shot down the images of the gods with cannon charged to the muzzle. Then con-

Hodgson's direction, and forwarded with marginal notes by Mr. Hodgson to the Government of India. The copy which I have used is in the Secret and Political Department of the India Office, and has never been made public. It consists of three parts. The first or introductory part I uniformly cite for the sake of brevity as *Report of* 1837, the other two as *Principal Transactions*, according to their official headings in the India Office Records.

[1] The Gurkha dynasty of Nepal, from its foundation, 1765, to the end of the period dealt with in this book, 1843, was as follows: (1) Prithi Narayan, founder of the Gurkha dynasty in Nepal, conquered that country between 1765 and 1769; died 1774 (Wright's Native Genealogy, p. 290). (2) Singh Pratab, his son, added further conquests and died 1777 (Wright's Genealogy, p. 290). (3) Ran Bahadur Sah, his son, succeeded as an infant; abdicated 1799; murdered 1804; was the husband of Queen Tripuri. (4) Sri Girbhan Yuddha Vikram Sah, his son, succeeded as an infant; died 1816. (5) Sri Rajendra Vikram Sah, his son, succeeded when two years old; was nominally king during Hodgson's whole residence in Nepal; deposed 1847. I follow the dates in the Court Genealogy translated in Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 290.

[2] Ran Bahadur Sah.

[3] Wright's Genealogy, p. 290. A marginal note to Campbell's Report, p. 4, gives 1775.

[4] *Report of* 1837, p. 8.

[5] *Idem.*

science-stricken by her death, and urged on by the public horror at the "seduction or ravishment of a Brahman's daughter,"[1] he resigned the throne in favour of her son, and in or about the year 1802 retired to a religious life at Benares.

The high-born Princess Tripuri, in spite of much cruel treatment by her husband, accompanied him into exile. The more worldly second wife, of middle-class origin, remained in Nepal and became regent for the infant king—the son of the Brahman girl. But the besotted father, although he gave up his royal title and assumed a new religious name, continued to be the brutish madman under a devotee's dress at Benares that he had been on the throne of Nepal. His faithful high-born wife, at length wearied out by his insults and outraged in every feeling as a woman and a princess, found herself compelled to abandon him to his vices, and went back to Nepal. The second wife, fearing the loss of her position as regent, sent a force to capture the Senior Queen on the road. But the Princess Tripuri declared that "as every kind of outrage had been already committed on her, there was nothing but loss of life to fear, and *that* would not prevent her making her way good." The troops, struck by her courage, declared in her favour, and conducted her in triumph to the capital, contending "with each other for the honour of carrying her palankeen."[2]

She speedily ousted the second queen, and established herself in the government. Her husband determined to profit by her success, gave up his religious garb at Benares, and returned to Nepal to claim his own. The faithful Tripuri received him back, but in 1804 he was assassinated in open Court by an officer whom he had in a rage ordered for execution. The Prime Minister arranged for the second queen to immolate herself on the funeral pile, while the Princess Tripuri retained the regency and held it for twenty-eight years. On the death of the boy-king, the

[1] *Report of* 1837, p. 8. [2] *Idem.*, p. 21.

son of the Brahman girl, in 1816, Queen Tripuri still remained regent on behalf of his infant son and successor until her own death in 1832.

It was this remarkable woman, faithful as a wife, politic and patriotic as a princess, who ruled Nepal as Queen-Regent during the whole period covered by the present chapter. The actual government was in the hands of the Prime Minister, Bhim Sen—the most famous of the line of soldier-statesmen who have *de facto* governed Nepal from the Gurkha conquest in 1768[1] to Sir Jang Bahadur in our own times. Bhim Sen, while still a youth, had followed the exiled king and Queen Tripuri into their exile at Benares, and had helped in the short-lived restoration of his royal master. On the assassination of the latter in 1804, Bhim Sen became Prime Minister, and retained the office with an iron grip for thirty years, until it came to his turn to perish miserably in 1839.

The secret of his long rule was that he thoroughly understood both the fears and the aspirations of the military tribes of Nepal. The fear of these brave mountaineers was the establishment of a British ascendency; their aspiration was to extend their conquests at the expense of our Indian frontier. To the British he appeared to be a "vigorous, ambitious, and unprincipled opponent."[2] To the Nepalese he seemed to be a stern master, whose yoke, though grievous to bear, was better than the evils which

[1] This year is taken as the official date of the conquest in the royal genealogy of Nepal.—Wright, p. 290.

[2] Captain Hamilton, quoted in para. 17 of a memorandum by Dr. A. Campbell, Officiating Assistant to the Resident in Nepal, on the relations of the British Government and Nepal down to 1834, in two parts, headed "Principal Transactions and Early Intercourse." This valuable State paper was drawn up in 1837 under the instructions of Mr. Hodgson as Resident, and embodies his matured views on our relations with Nepal. I quote from the copy in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office, and for the sake of brevity, as already mentioned, I refer uniformly to it as *Principal Transactions*. It formed Parts II. and III. of the *Report of* 1837, described *ante*, p. 95, footnote.

it averted. Bhim Sen was the first Nepalesé statesman who grasped the meaning of the system of Protectorates which Lord Wellesley had carried out in India. He saw one Native State after another come within the net of British subsidiary alliances, and his policy was steadily directed to save Nepal from a similar fate. He also perceived that the Gurkha race, having conquered Nepal and the hill valleys eastwards and westwards at the foot of the great Himalayan wall on the north, had no further outlet for its warlike energy except southwards on the Indian plains. How to meet these two conditions, to stealthily encroach upon British territory and yet to prevent British reprisals which might bring Nepal under the British ascendency, were the almost irreconcilable tasks which Bhim Sen set before him.

During the first ten years of his Prime-Ministership he did not quite appreciate its difficulties. Judging from the ineffective interferences of the East India Company in Nepalese affairs from 1765 to 1801, he failed to realise the strength which it could now put forth. Between 1804 and 1813 he accordingly allowed a long series of raids and encroachments on the Indian plains, the seizure of British territory and the carrying into captivity of British subjects. In so doing he merely continued and improved upon the old predatory policy of Nepal. In a single British district the magistrate had to report that "between 1787 and 1813 upwards of two hundred villages had been seized by the Nepalese on one or other unjustifiable pretext."[1]

Nepal was somewhat rudely awakened to the change which had taken place in the power of the British Company by Lord Hastings' demand in 1813 for the evacuation of the most recently seized districts "within twenty-five days." But Bhim Sen could not bring himself to believe in the change, and declared for war.

[1] Report of the Magistrate of Tirhoot, quoted in *Principal Transactions*, para. 17.

"Through the influence of your good fortune and that of your ancestors," he thus solemnly addressed the boy Raja in full darbar, "no one has yet been able to cope with the State of Nepal. The Chinese once made war on us, but were reduced to seek peace.[1] How then will the English be able to penetrate into our hills? . . . The small fort of Bhartpur" (which Lord Combermere had failed to take in 1805) "was the work of man, yet the English, being worsted before it, desisted from the attempt to conquer it. Our hills and fastnesses are formed by the hand of God, and are impregnable."[2]

The war which followed in 1814—1816 convinced Bhim Sen, once and for ever, as to the reality of the British power—"a power," he declared, "that crushed thrones like potsherds."[3] He resolved that, whoever might henceforth go to war with the Company, it should not be Bhim Sen. But, as we shall see, he had no objection to sympathetic correspondence with other Native States at war, or on the brink of war, with the British. His own efforts were henceforth confined to rendering our victory over Nepal as little productive as possible of results.

This was by no means easy. Lord Hastings perfectly understood the situation, and insisted, as the price of peace, on conditions which should effectually curb Nepal. The richest part of that State, and the part which furnished it with the sinews of war, was the lush, unhealthy borderland at the foot of the hills—the Tarai. Lord Hastings declared that the cession of the Tarai was the first condition of a truce. "Nepal will never consent to give you up

[1] A ludicrous reversal of the facts, but one which still figures in the Court Chronicle of Nepal.—Wright, p. 282.

[2] Speech of Bhim Sen "as First Chief of the State" to the Nepalese Council, March 1814.—*Principal Transactions*, para. 20, footnote.

[3] Quoted in Dr. H. A. Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I., p. 299 (2 vols., London, 1880). Dr. Oldfield had access to the Residency Records, and, notwithstanding such slips as Gardiner constantly for Gardner the first Resident, he made a good use of them.

the Tarai," the Nepalese replied to our envoy, Mr. Gardner. "Take the Tarai and you will leave us without the means of subsistence, for the hills without it are worth nothing."[1] It was precisely because Lord Hastings knew that the loss of the Tarai would disable Nepal for further aggressions that he determined to have it. "Mr. Gardner's orders were peremptory," and after another struggle Nepal gave up the Tarai by the Treaty of Segauli in 1816.[2]

Then Bhim Sen's turn came. He first, by skilful diplomacy, obtained a retrocession of part of the eastern Tarai as a special favour from Lord Hastings to the young Raja, and in return for relieving us of certain pecuniary obligations.[3] He then, by even more skilful obstructions, endeavoured to render nugatory our demarcation of the frontier. By 1819 these delays amounted to a contumacious disregard of the treaty, and nearly led to chastisement by a British force. Bhim Sen next changed his tactics from open obstruction to covert frustration. Boundary pillars were erected, but unsurveyed gaps were left for future encroachments, and for endless annoyance to the British officers. The rugged hills and dense jungles, in the absence of a scientific survey, favoured uncertainty. Dr. Oldfield states that the boundary between Nepal and Oudh was not finally adjusted until 1830, and that between Nepal and the British territories not for some years later.[4] It was reserved for Hodgson as Resident to wring a complete settlement from Bhim Sen.[5] For many years after we imposed our conditions of peace upon Nepal in 1816,

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 25.

[2] "From the river Kali on the west to the river Tista on the east, with the exception of Birtwal Khas, and of such portions of the Tarai lying between the Gandak and the Kasi, into which the British authority had not been introduced, or was not in actual course of introduction."—*Principal Transactions*, A.D. 1816, para. 33.

[3] *Vide ante*, p. 62. Campbell described this retroceded tract in 1837 "as the mine from which they (the Nepalese) drew their chief net monied resources."—*Principal Transactions*, para. 44.

[4] *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I., p. 306 (London, 1880).

[5] *Principal Transactions*, para. 38.

the spirited Queen-Regent and the astute Prime Minister prevented some of the most important of them from becoming operative.

The third figure at the Nepalese Court was the British Resident, the Honourable Edward Gardner, with whom we are already acquainted.[1] Lord Hastings' fixed idea was that in 1816 he had broken the military force of Nepal for ever. The vast wars on which he found himself in the following year forced to embark against the Pindaris and Marathas made him disinclined to give heed to any symptoms that might interfere with this preconceived view. It was the business of the Resident in Nepal to keep things quiet. Mr. Gardner was precisely the man to accomplish the task.

But in accomplishing it he was constrained to a degree of self-effacement which encouraged the Queen-Regent and Prime Minister in their policy of dexterous frustration. The traditional attitude of Nepal had been "to keep us totally in the dark as to whatever transpired within the mountains; to refuse all effectual explanations of differences; and to find and make opportunities of aggression, too small individually to kindle into actual flame our anger."[2] One of the chief objects of our campaign in 1815-16 was to put an end to this state of things by establishing a British Resident in Kathmandu. Lord Hastings' ultimatum to the defeated Nepalese when they tardily sought peace was "that they must take the Resident or war."[3] No sooner was a Resident accepted than the Queen-Regent and the Prime Minister began to try to isolate him as effectually as if he were non-existent. At first, indeed, a force of Nepalese soldiers was planted between the Residency and the capital to prevent any communication, and it was "given out in the city that any one so offending shall be punished."[4] Throughout

[1] *Vide ante*, pp. 37, 57, 58, 59.
[2] *Principal Transactions*, para. 52.
[3] *Idem.*, para. 52.
[4] *Idem.*, para. 55.

Mr. Gardner's tenure of office, the Prime Minister impressed on the Nepalese chiefs "that intercourse with the Residency must inevitably lead to the formation of a discontented faction in the State, and that treaties expressly forbade such intercourse. Whilst under these pretexts he debarred one and all from the privilege of personal intercourse with us, he had little difficulty in persuading the Nepalese vulgar, great and small, that he alone was fit to cope with us in politics."[1]

Although Gardner acquiesced in these frustrations, he winced under them. Before long he perceived that Lord Hastings had by no means broken the military power of Nepal. As a matter of fact the Nepalese army was gradually raised in numbers and efficiency to a point unknown before the war. At the same time the mercantile arrangements between Nepal and India were reduced almost to a dead letter by skilful obstructions, and by the Prime Minister's denial of justice to merchants who engaged in the trade.

Gardner's assistant, Hodgson, also realised the situation, and after some years of experience grew restive under it. Gardner, although not caring himself to change the passive policy to which he had been so long accustomed, does not seem to have objected to the efforts of his junior to prepare the way for a stricter enforcement of our treaty-rights. With his sanction Hodgson collected the materials for placing the British Government in possession of the complete facts regarding the military, commercial, and judicial problems involved.

"The ordinary round of duties devolving on an assistant in an Indian embassy," writes the learned native commentator on the Hodgson Sanskrit manuscripts,[2] "is limited enough. But an officer in a foreign Court has many opportunities of collecting and digesting valuable

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 58.

[2] *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, by Rajendra Lala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., p. v. (Calcutta, 1882).

information, and Mr. Hodgson utilised them to the utmost. While working as assistant to the Resident, his attention was first directed to the military organisation of Nepal, and his studies resulted in two memoirs giving details regarding the then existing force of the Nepal Darbar, the military tribes and races from which it was drawn, their tribal names and classification, their physical and moral qualities as soldiers, their pay and discipline, as also the manufacture of their arms and ammunitions. . . . Mr. Hodgson next turned his attention to the commerce of Nepal with the people of the plains on this [Indian] side, and with those of Central Asia and China on the other. For some time before the first Nepal war this commerce was extensive, and Mr. Hodgson's object in the papers he wrote on the subject was to furnish practical directions, routes, and details about travelling and customs-house charges, with a view to revive that commerce, and divert the people from their warlike propensities. . . . The legal administration of the country also found in him an able and most faithful historiographer."

I have quoted the above sentences from Rajendra Lala Mitra, because he was in personal communication with Hodgson, and they serve to fix the period to which the three classes of inquiry belong. The results were afterwards published in different forms, and at various dates: in the *Asiatic Researches* and *Transactions* of the Bengal Asiatic Society; as State papers in Volume XXVII. of *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal;* again in Professor Summers' *Phœnix*, a monthly magazine for Eastern Asia; and finally in Hodgson's collected works and essays.[1] But whatever shape they ultimately took, Hodgson commenced the collection of the materials for them when Assistant Resident, as part of a systematic scheme for bringing Nepal within the knowledge of the British Government.

He soon perceived that, in a country without trade-

[1] Trübner & Co., one volume, 1874; two volumes, 1880.

outlets, the natural and inevitable occupation of the people is war. Military service was the only means by which the classes above the servile tillers of the soil could find scope for their energies. The Queen-Regent and the Prime Minister knew that their own tenure of office depended in the long run on their fulfilling this fundamental condition of providing a career of arms for the chiefs and high-spirited castes in Nepal. As the years of enforced peace went on, and those castes suffered no depletion from war, the standing army had to be constantly increased. In 1816 Gardner estimated it at 10,000 men. By 1819 it had been raised to 12,000, and in 1831 it reached 15,000. The last figure, however, was the "peace establishment which is in constant pay and under regular discipline, and is only one-third of the force that Nepal could, at a very short notice, call into the field; and that in a most efficient condition, well drilled, well armed with muskets and bayonets, and tolerably well accoutred."[1]

This was the first problem, the problem of finding some safe outlet for the activities of the military castes, which Hodgson set himself to solve. It was complicated by two difficulties—the Nepalese system of service by rotation, and the increased means of supporting it which we ourselves, by the rendition of part of the Tarai, had given to Nepal. "The system of army enlistment," says the Report afterwards drawn up under his instruction when Resident, "is one of annual rotation, the usage of the [Nepalese] Government requiring an entire change of the whole army every year from full pay to no pay. And supposing this usage to be kept up as it has hitherto been, the Government has always in its power to treble the amount of its force without much loss of its efficiency. For the quickly recurring periods at which the men are restored to pay and discipline, and the abhorrence of the military tribes in Nepal to engaging in other pursuits than that of arms,

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 62.

ensures the return of the Dhakeriah (or soldier off the roll) but little wanting in his proper accomplishments as an efficient soldier."[1] Hodgson's first difficulty, therefore, was that the whole upper classes in Nepal were organised into a hereditary force, whose sole career in life was military service.

His second was that by the retrocession of part of the Tarai after the war of 1815-16, "as an earnest of our good-will," Lord Hastings had himself supplied the means for maintaining and developing this system. The Tarai, or rich malarial borderland at the foot of the hills, "from being a tract nearly depopulated previous to the war," had become under the security of possession guaranteed by Lord Hastings to Nepal "a source of net revenue to the amount of ten lakhs a year" (then over £100,000). "What we regarded as not worth retaining in 1816 now yields a noble revenue, and has capabilities of affording three times the amount."[2]

The solution of the difficulty which Hodgson urged upon the British Government was to draft a considerable number of the surplus soldiery of Nepal into our own army. The idea was not altogether a new one. General Ochterlony had noted the fighting qualities of the Gurkhas during the war, and in 1815 the Governor-General enlisted four Gurkha corps from the disbanded Nepalese troops.[3] Their strength having been subsequently reduced, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, proposed in 1825 to augment them by recruits from the Nepal dominions. But Mr. Gardner as Resident, while cordially acknow-

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 63.

[2] *Idem.*, para. 64. (Written in 1837.)

[3] Namely, the Sirmur Battalion at Nahun, the 1st and 2nd Nasiri battalions at Subathu, and a fourth local corps in Kumaun from troops who came over at the close of the campaign.—Record of the Services of the 2nd Gurkha (the Sirmur Rifle) Regiment in the Military Department. I am indebted to General Sir Oliver Newmarch, Military Secretary in the India Office, for access to this and other papers bearing upon the history of the British Gurkha Regiments.

ledging their merits as soldiers, "believed that even on entering our service the Gurkhas would not separate themselves entirely from their native country, as they could not remove their families from Nepal, and he opined that, however faithfully they might conduct themselves on general occasions, in the event of any future rupture with Nepal they possessed that feeling of patriotism which would induce the greater part of them to adhere decidedly to their natural allegiance."[1] He conceived a better plan would be to negotiate "with Nepal for the service of a portion of her organised troops as mercenaries." Nepal was quite ready to fall into the latter arrangement, and it was perhaps under the Prime Minister's prompting that Mr. Gardner suggested it. But the employment of separate bodies of foreign mercenaries was opposed to the military policy of the British Government of India, and nothing came of the proposal.

It was at this point that Hodgson took up the question and placed it on a broader basis. "Mr. Hodgson," says the Report drawn up under his instructions, "is in favour of our opening the ranks of our army to the surplus soldiery of Nepal."[2] One of his last acts as Assistant Resident was to submit to the Government of India the conclusions at which he had slowly arrived and his plan for giving effect to them. Mr. Gardner had then been succeeded as Resident by Sir Herbert Maddock, whose vigorous understanding clearly grasped the importance of Hodgson's views. It must be remembered, in reading the following extract, that Hodgson was comparing the Gurkhas not with the military races of the Punjab now in our service, but with the Company's regiments as then recruited in the Gangetic valley. That his comparison was not unjust may be gathered from independent military witnesses. In 1815 General Ochterlony had "confidentially" informed the Governor-General "that the Company's sepoys could not

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 64.
[2] *Idem.*, para. 64.

be brought to match the Gurkhas."[1] Shortly after the formation of the Sirmur battalion in 1815, Colonel Nicolls, in command of the forces assembled at Sitapur, reported the Gurkhas to be "the only corps with the army properly equipped for hill service."[2] Hodgson thus sums up his Report[3] to the Government in 1832:—

"These Highland soldiers, who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of our sepoys who must bathe from head to foot and make Puja ere they begin to dress their dinner, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours—the best part of the day. In war the former [*i.e.* the Gurkhas] carry several days' provisions on their backs; the latter [the Company's old sepoys] would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of gain and glory; the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible wizards and goblins and evil spirits.

"In masses, the former [the Gurkhas] have that indomitable confidence, each in all, which grows out of national integrity and success; the latter [the Company's sepoys] can have no idea of this sentiment, which however maintains the union and resolution of multitudes in peril better than all other human bonds whatever.

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 64.

[2] Record of the Services of the 2nd Gurkha Regiment in the Military Department of the India Office.

[3] Dated October 1832. This Report was, by permission of the Government, placed before the Asiatic Society at its meeting of January 9th, 1833, and has been frequently printed: *e.g.* in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II., 1833; *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. XXVII. (Calcutta, 1857); Hodgson's Collected Essays, Part II. (Trübner, London, 1874); and in various State papers. I quote from its final official form, as reproduced in the Report for the Government of India drawn up under Mr. Hodgson's instructions when Resident in 1837.

"I calculate that there are at this time in Nepal no less than 30,000 Dhakeriahs, or soldiers off the roll by rotation, belonging to the Khas, Muggurs, and Gurung tribes (three chief military tribes in Nepal). I am not sure that there exists any insuperable obstacle to our obtaining in one form or other the services of a large body of these men; and such are their energy of character, love of enterprise, and freedom from the shackles of caste, that I am well assured their services, if obtained, would soon come to be most highly prized. In my humble opinion they are by far the best soldiers in India, and if they are made participators of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit and unadulterated military habits might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay, and noble pension establishment, would serve to counterpoise the influence of nationality."

This Report by Hodgson in 1832, although it won the thanks of the Government and probably decided Lord William Bentinck to appoint him as Resident of Nepal, resulted in no immediate action. It came in the midst of the twelve years' peace between the fall of Bhartpur in 1827 and the first Kabul war in 1839. It was in vain that one military expert after another called attention to the importance of providing some counterpoise to the pampered sepoys of the Gangetic valley, and urged the recruitment of the Gurkhas as a new element of strength and safety. Lord Dalhousie's prescient mind did, indeed, realise the necessity. He reorganised the local Gurkha battalions into regiments in 1850, and one of his last acts in 1856 was to urge the increase of this force as essential to our security in India. He urged in vain.[1] A year later, when the Mutiny of 1857 broke upon Northern India, the authorities fell back when too late on Hodgson's scheme, which would, humanly speaking, have rendered such a catastrophe impossible.

[1] For references to the question in its general bearing upon the Mutiny, see my *Life of Dalhousie*, pp. 214, 222 (The Clarendon Press, Ed. 1890).

Hodgson himself, by his close intimacy with Sir Jang Bahadur, exercised at the height of the crisis an important influence on the decision of the Nepalese Minister to place at our disposal the Gurkha force which did such good service. We shall see the part which Hodgson played in persuading Lord Canning to accept the proffered Gurkha troops. As usual Hodgson sank his personality and only lamented, not that his own counsels, but that those of acknowledged military authorities had been so long and fatally neglected. "It is infinitely to be regretted," he wrote in 1857, "that the opinions of Sir H. Fane, of Sir Charles Napier, and of Sir H. Lawrence, as to the high expediency of recruiting largely from this source, were not acted upon long ago."[1]

Hodgson's scheme for relieving the growing pressure of the military castes in Nepal was not confined to recruiting alone. He believed that until some peaceful outlet could be provided for the productions and commercial capabilities of Nepal there would be chronic unrest. "By depriving her of a third of her territory," says the Report drawn up under his instructions at a later period when Resident, "and girding her on all sides by our own Provinces, we imagined that of necessity she would gradually abandon her thirst for arms and conquest, turn her thoughts and resources to the peaceful arts of commerce and agriculture, and ere long be changed from a hostile power which skirted our dominions for about eight hundred miles, to a less powerful, quiet, and peaceable neighbour and ally. The reverse of this is the case, and at this moment [1837] Nepal holds a station of offensive power to the full as great as she did in 1814." The Report goes on to urge that "the second means" (*i.e.* in addition to enlistment of the Gurkhas in our regiments) "for quieting

[1] This passage has been quoted by Captain Eden Vansittart, 5th Gurkhas, in his *Notes on the Gurkhas*, p. 32.—Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta (Calcutta, 1890). Military Department, India Office.

the passion for arms among the military tribes of Nepal is a due attention on our part to the encouragement and increase of commerce." [1]

Hodgson, in regard to his trade-proposals, found the initial task of obtaining the necessary data a protracted one. It occupied him during many years while Assistant Resident, and it was not until acting temporarily as Resident, in 1829-31, that he thought it safe to submit his conclusions to Government in a complete form. Meanwhile, as his official reports state, he searched the records of the past generally in vain, and gradually accumulated data as to the present. "I have secretly and carefully applied," he writes, "to some of the oldest and most respectable merchants of Kathmandu and other chief towns of the valley. . . . In the absence of statistical documents these are the only accessible data."

The results were at length embodied in two despatches from him dated March 8th, 1830, and December 1st, 1831. Taken together they form the most interesting account of Himalayan and Central Asian trade in the records of the Government of India. His final report of 1831 was published by authority,[2] and has been more than once reprinted.[3] In his despatch of 1830 he had explained the causes "why that great commerce which naturally ought to, and formerly did, subsist between the Cis- and Trans-Himalayan regions should seek the channel of Nepal rather than that of Bhutan on the one hand or of Kumaun on the other." In his Report of 1831 he set forth the available means for resuscitating and developing this trade under three main heads. He first gave "a precise practical account of the commercial route to Kathmandu, and thence to the marts on the Bhote or Tibetan frontier, with the

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 64.

[2] As Paper No. II. of the *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, Vol. XXVII.

[3] For example, under the title of "On the Commerce of Nepal," in Part II. of Hodgson's Essays, pp. 91-121 (Trübner, 1874).

manner and expense of conveying goods, the amount and nature of the duties levied thereon by the Nepal Government, and the places where they are levied." He next furnished "lists of imports and exports with remarks." He concluded with "catalogues showing the number of native and Indian merchants residing at Kathmandu and the other chief towns of the valley of Nepal, with the supposed amount of the trading capital of each."

Hodgson pointed out that the competition for the Central Asian commerce lay between the trade route from Pekin to St. Petersburg on the north, and that from Pekin to India *viâ* the Nepal passes on the south. The former route he estimates, upon data which he gives, at 5,500 miles; the latter at 2,880, or deducting the river-section from our frontier to Calcutta, at only 2,340. The Russian route, moreover, was subject to heavier and more numerous transit duties than the Indian one. Yet the commerce *viâ* the Indian route had dwindled, while that of the Russian route flourished. One main cause was the attitude of isolation assumed by the intervening State of Nepal, and our consequent absence of information as to the conditions and requirements of the inner-Asia trade. Hodgson's aim was to convert Nepal from an interposing obstacle into a common mart where the merchants from Hindustan might interchange their commodities with the traders from inner-Asia.

He showed that it was exactly the products in which Great Britain excelled, especially warm woollen stuffs and cutlery, and for which Calcutta formed the natural inlet, that were in demand for the trans-Himalayan trade. Even the Russian caravans in Central Asia had to depend on Manchester for their finer goods. "Of the cotton and woollen cloths the coarse only are Russian-made," wrote Mr. Hodgson,[1] "the fine come chiefly from England; and the like is true of the glassware and hardware." Indeed Russia

[1] Letter to the Political Secretary to Government, dated December 1st, 1831.

went even farther afield, to our colonies. "From Canada Russia seeks through England our peltry," or fur-skins, he continues, "to convey it to the Chinese across the endless savage wastes of Siberia. What should hinder our Indian subjects and the Nepalese from procuring these same furs at Calcutta, and conveying them through Nepal and Tibet to these same Chinese? . . . What, again, should hinder the same merchants from underselling the Russian in the articles of English woollens, hardware, and glassware, by conveying them to Setchuen from Calcutta by the same route? . . . The Nepalese have used the Chinese commerce *viâ* Tibet for ages, and our Indian subjects might deal in concert with the Nepalese by joint firms at Kathmandu."

But while Western China formed the ultimate goal of such commerce, Hodgson urged that, even without reaching that goal, important openings for trade lay along the route. In Nepal's nearest neighbour, Tibet, he pointed out that there was "an immense country, tolerably well peopled, possessed of a temperate climate, rich in natural productions, and inhabited by no rude nomads, but by a settled, peaceful, lettered, and commercially disposed race, to whom our broad cloths are needful, since, whilst all ranks and ages and both sexes wear woollen cloths, the native manufactures are most wretched, and China has none of a superior sort and at a moderate price wherewith to supply the Tibetans. With her [Tibet's] musk, her rhubarb, her borax, her splendid wools, her mineral and animal wealth, her universal need of good woollens, and her incapacity to provide herself or to obtain supplies from any of her neighbours, Tibet may well be believed capable of maintaining a large and valuable exchange of commodities with Great Britain, through the medium of our Indian subjects and the people of Nepal, to which latter the *aditus*, closed to all others by China, is freely open."

Hodgson explained in detail the existing nucleus from

which such a trade might be developed. "It appears that at this present time," he wrote in 1831, "there are in the great towns in the valley of Nepal fifty-two native and thirty-four Indian merchants engaged in foreign commerce both with the south and the north, and that the trading capital of the former is considered to be not less than Rs. 5,018,000, nor that of the latter less than Rs. 2,305,000." In a comment on this passage Hodgson first reduced his estimates by a third, and finally in a pencil note to one half, which would give the aggregate capital of the merchants then engaged in the Nepal foreign trade at about Rs. 3,500,000. He found it extremely difficult to obtain data as to the volume of business done by them; but he ultimately estimated the total Nepalese exports and imports at over Rs. 3,000,000 a year. There was therefore a definite nucleus both of capital and of acquired experience from which a Central Asian trade through Nepal might be developed. "Let the native merchants of Calcutta and Nepal, separately or in concert," he said, "take up this commerce."

Hodgson went into a degree of detail which may now seem curious, but which at the time was eminently practical, as to the means for rendering such commerce profitable. Not only the length of each stage and the amount of customs duties at each station, but the estimated buying price in Calcutta of over a hundred articles of Central Asian trade, from cottons, carpets, and corals to gun-flints, needles, and betel-nuts, their selling price in Nepal, the total import of each into Nepal, and the total consumed within Nepalese limits, are set forth in tabulated statements.

His Report forms a handbook as to the articles of Himalayan trade, the qualities most profitable and the colours most in demand, in the first third of the nineteenth century. He gives minute suggestions even as to the packing of the goods in transit. "The merchants' wares should be made up at Calcutta into secure packages, adapted for carriage on a man's back, of the full weight of

two Calcutta bazaar maunds each.[1] Because, if the wares be so made up, a single mountaineer will carry that surprising weight over the huge mountains of Nepal; whereas two men not being able to unite their strength with effect in the conveyance of goods, packages heavier than two maunds are of necessity taken to pieces on the road at great hazard and inconvenience. . . . Let every merchant, therefore," he quaintly concludes his dissertation on packing, "make up his goods into parcels of two full bazaar maunds each, and let him have with him apparatus for fixing two of such parcels across a bullock's saddle."

Hodgson's plans for the commercial development of Nepal had a different fate from his project for the British enlistment of the Gurkhas. Both were designed with the same political view, to find an outlet for the energy of the surplus population of Nepal. But as his military scheme was pigeon-holed owing to the long twelve years' peace, so for the same reason his trade-proposals won the immediate approval of Government. It was his pleasant duty while Resident from 1833 to 1843 to aid in extending the intercourse between British India and Nepal on the lines which he had sketched, and to give effect to the trade-policy on which he had so long pondered when an Assistant. An immense development of our commercial relations with Nepal dates from his Reports. The Rs. 3,000,000 of Nepalese imports and exports in 1831 had grown into a Nepalese trade with British India alone of over Rs. 33,000,000 in 1891.[2]

Hodgson foresaw that such a development would only be possible when the legal position of British-Indian merchants in Nepal should be placed on a satisfactory footing. His third series of efforts were accordingly directed to exploring the judicial system of Nepal, and to drawing up an accurate account of it for the British

[1] About 160 pounds avoirdupois.

[2] *Statistical Abstract relating to British India*, presented to both Houses of Parliament, pp. 226-7 (1895). Return for 1890-91.

Government. Nothing of the kind had previously been attempted, but the habit of inquiry which Hodgson learned under his first master Traill in Kumaun, and especially of inquiry into the judicial practice of what had up to that time formed a Nepalese province, now served him in good stead in Nepal itself. "The administration was purely Hindu," writes Rajendra Lala Mitra,[1] "absolutely untouched by foreign influence for several centuries."

Hodgson started with no preconceived notions, but simply with the idea of acquiring such a practical knowledge of the native judicial system as would enable him to secure justice in cases which the British Residency had to settle conjointly with the courts of Nepal. Such cases were numerous, and at times formed an important part of the Resident's and Assistant Resident's work. For the Nepalese Darbar, finding itself unable to maintain its isolation, threw legal obstacles in the way of merchants from the Indian plains—obstacles which rendered it difficult for British-Indian subjects to collect their debts, and sometimes involved them in the meshes of a judicial procedure which they did not understand. As it was difficult for them to obtain redress from the Nepalese tribunals, Hodgson determined to ascertain exactly the number and constitution of those tribunals and the law which they were bound to administer.

He accordingly drew up a series of ninety-three questions and placed them before the Brahmans learned in the law whom he maintained to assist him in his philological and Buddhist researches. The statements thus collected he tested by secret inquiries from Nepalese pandits and officers "who were judged most capable of replying to them in a full and satisfactory manner." He embodied the results in two official reports, "On the Law and Police of Nepal" and "On the Law and Legal Practice of Nepal;" with a third in the *Asiatic Researches*.

"This subject," wrote the Government, "is one which

[1] *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. v. (Calcutta, 1882).

possesses much interest, whether for the legislator, the historian, or the philosopher. In Hindustan we look in vain for any traces of Hindu legislation or government. The Moslem conquerors have everywhere swept them away. And if we wish to inquire what are the features of the Hindu system of jurisprudence and judicature, it is in Nepal we must seek for the answer. Mr. Hodgson is the first who has enabled us to obtain a precise and definitive view of the subject. His information was transmitted to the Governor-General, and the Governor-General deemed it of sufficient importance to authorise its publication."[1]

The two papers were accordingly placed before the Asiatic Society,[2] and subsequently reprinted in Vol. XXVII of the *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal.* They start with simple questions as to the number, territorial jurisdiction, and terms or sittings of the courts, and the names and functions of their officers. They proceed to more complicated inquiries in regard to the law of evidence current in Nepal, the judicial consequence of confession, the police establishment, the ultimate sources of the law (whether written or customary), crimes and their punishments, the rules of inheritance, and the practice in mercantile cases. The law for the recovery of debt—a matter constantly arising between our Residency and the Nepalese Court—is stated as follows: "The creditor may attach duns to the debtor, to follow and dun him wherever he goes. The creditor may also stop the debtor wherever he finds him; take him home, confine, beat, and abuse him; so that he does him no serious injury in health or limbs. Another answer states that the creditor may seize upon the debtor, confine him in his own house, place him

[1] Quoted in *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, by Rajendra Lala Mitra, p. vi. (Calcutta, 1882).

[2] The second paper was read before the Bengal Asiatic Society on December 7th, 1833. The two were finally reprinted as *Some Account of the Systems of Law and Police as recognised in the State of Nepal* in Vol. II. of Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, pp. 211-250 (Trübner, 1880).

under the spout that discharges the filthy wash of the house, and suchlike; but he has no further power over him."[1]

The thoroughness with which Hodgson went into the subject may be seen from the answers to two single questions. I quote them in full, for they disclose the actual administration of justice in a Hindu State undisturbed by foreign influences. I know of no other record so trustworthy, because obtained from witnesses on the spot while the system was still in full vigour, as to the procedure by ordeal and torture which the British system had to supersede and eradicate in old-fashioned parts of India. Readers who are afraid of native words may skip it, but to those who can overcome their aversion to unfamiliar terms, it will present a realistic picture not devoid of pathos. I have tried to make the task as light as possible by giving the English equivalents.

"Question XXXII.—Describe the forms of procedure in a civil cause, step by step.

"Answer.—If a person comes into court and states that another person owes him a certain sum of money, which he refuses to pay, the *bichari* [or examining officer] of the court immediately asks him for the particulars of the debt, which he accordingly furnishes. The examining officer then commands the *jamadar* [head bailiff] of the court to send one of his sepoys to fetch the debtor. The creditor accompanies the sepoy to point out the debtor, and pays him two annas per diem (then about threepence), until he has arrested the latter and brought him into court. When he is there produced, the *dit'ha* [judge][2] and examining officers interrogate the parties face to face. The debtor is asked if he acknowledges the debt alleged against him, and

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, Vol. XXVII.; Answer to Mr. Hodgson's Question No. XCIII., p. 227.

[2] The dit'ha, or judge, decided; the bicharis, or examining officers, of whom there were two to each court, conducted the preliminary procedure.—Answer to Question XV.

will immediately discharge it. The debtor may answer by acknowledging the debt, and stating his willingness to pay it as soon as he can collect the means, which he hopes to do in a few days.

"In this case, the examining officer will desire the creditor to wait a few days. The creditor may reply that he cannot wait, having immediate need of the money; and if so, one of the *chaprassis* [orderlies] of the court is attached to the debtor, with directions to see to the producing of the money in court by any means. The debtor must then produce money or goods, or whatever property he has, and bring it into court. The judge and examining officers, calling to their assistance three or four merchants, proceed to appraise the goods produced in satisfaction of the debt, and immediately discharge it; nor can the creditor object to their appraisement of the debtor's goods and chattels. In matters thus arranged, that is, where the defendant admits the cause of action to be valid, 5 per cent of the property litigated is taken from the one party, and 10 per cent from the other, and no more [as court-fees].

"If the defendant, when produced in court in the manner above described, denies instead of confessing the debt, then the plaintiff's proofs are called for; and if he has only a simple note of hand unattested, or an attested acknowledgment the witnesses to which are dead, then the judge and examining officers interrogate the plaintiff thus: 'This paper is of no use as evidence; how do you propose to establish your claim?' The plaintiff may answer: 'I lent the money to the father of the defendant; the note produced is in his handwriting, and my claim is a just claim.' Hereupon the plaintiff is required to pledge himself formally to prosecute his claim in the court in which he is, and in no other. The words enjoining the plaintiff thus to gage himself are *Beri t'hapo*; and the mode is by the plaintiff's taking a rupee in his hand, which he closes, and strikes the ground, exclaiming

at the same time, 'My claim is just, and I gage myself to prove it so.'

"The defendant is then commanded to take up the gage of the plaintiff, or to pledge himself in a similar manner to attend the court duly to the conclusion of the trial, which he does by formally denying the authenticity of the document produced against him, as well as the validity of the debt; and upon this denial he likewise strikes the earth with his hand closed on a rupee. The rupee of the plaintiff and that of the defendant, which are called *beri*, are now deposited in court. The next step is for the court to take the fee called *karpan*, or five rupees from each party. The amount of both *beri* and *karpan* is the perquisite of the various officers of the court, and does not go to the Government. The giving of *karpan* by the parties implies their desire to refer the dispute to the decision of the ordeal; and accordingly, as soon as the *karpan* is paid down, the judge acquaints the Government that the parties in a certain cause wish to undergo the ordeal. The necessary order is thereupon issued from the Darbar; but when it has reached the court, the judge and examining officers first of all exhort the parties to come to an understanding and effect a settlement of their dispute by some other means. If, however, they will not consent, the trial is directed to proceed.

"The ordeal is called *nyaya*, and the form of it is as follows: The names of the respective parties are inscribed on two pieces of paper, which are rolled up into balls, and then have *puja* offered to them. From each party a fine or fee of one rupee is taken: the balls are then affixed to staffs of reed, and two annas more are taken from each party. The reeds are then entrusted to two of the *havildars* [beadles] of the court to take to the Queen's Tank; and with the *havildars*, an examining officer of the court, a Brahman, and the parties proceed thither, as also two men of the *Chamakhalak* (or Chamara) caste.[1]

[1] A low aboriginal caste, in India skinners and leather-workers. The

"On arriving at the tank, the examining officer again exhorts the parties to avoid the ordeal by adopting some other mode of settling the business, the merits of which are only known to themselves. If they continue to insist on the ordeal, the two *havildars* [beadles], each holding one of the reeds, go, one to the east and the other to the west side of the tank, entering the water about knee-deep. The Brahman, the parties, and the *Chamakhalaks*, all at this moment enter the water a little way; and the Brahman performs worship to Varuna in the name of the parties, and repeats a sacred text, the meaning of which is that mankind knows not what passes in the minds of each other, but that all inward thoughts and past acts are known to the gods Surya, Chandra, Varuna, and Yama; and that they will do justice between the parties in this cause.

"When the *puja* is over, the Brahman gives the *tilak*[1] to the two *Chamakhalaks*, and says to them, 'Let the champion of truth win, and let the false one's champion lose!' This being said, the Brahman and the parties come out of the water, and the *Chamakhalaks* separate, one going to each place where the reed is erected. They then enter the deep water, and at a signal given, both immerse themselves in the water at the same instant. Whichever of them first rises from the water, the reed nearest to him is instantly destroyed, together with the scroll attached to it. The other reed is carried back to the court, where the ball of paper is opened, and the name read. If the scroll bear the plaintiff's name, he wins the cause; if it be that of the defendant, the latter is victorious.

"The fine called *jit'houri* is then paid by the winner, and that called *harhouri* by the loser; besides which, five rupees

presence of low castes at the ordeal was probably connected with the idea of making the aboriginal gods witnesses to the ceremony, as the Brahman represented the Hindu gods.

[1] That is to say, he solemnly puts the sacred mark on their foreheads.

are demanded from the winner in return for a turban which he gets, and the same sum, under the name of *sabhasudd'ha* (or purification of the court), from the loser. The above four demands on the parties, viz. *jit'houri*, *harhouri*, *pagri*, and *sabhasudd'ha*, are Government taxes; and, exclusive of these, eight annas must be paid to the *mahanias* of the court, eight annas more to the kotwal, eight more to the *kumhalnaikias*, and, lastly, eight more to the *khardar*, or registrar. In this manner multitudes of causes are decided by *nyaya* (ordeal), when the parties cannot be brought to agree upon the subject-matter of dispute, and have neither documentary nor verbal evidence to adduce."

"Question XXXIII.—Describe the forms of procedure in a criminal cause, step by step.

"Answer.—If any one comes into court, and states that such an one has killed such another by poison, sword, dagger, or otherwise, the informant is instantly interrogated by the court thus: How? Who? When? Before whom? The *Corpus delicti*, where? etc., etc. He answers by stating all these particulars according to his knowledge of the facts; adducing the names of the witnesses, or saying that, though he has no other witnesses than himself to the fact of murder, he pledges himself to prove it, or abide the consequences of failure in the proof. This last engagement, when tendered by the accuser, is immediately reduced to writing, to bind him more effectually; after which, one or more sepoys of the court are sent with the informant to secure the murderer, and produce him and the testimony of the deed in court, which, when produced accordingly, is followed by an interrogation of the accused.

"If the accused confesses the murder, there is no necessity to call for evidence. But if he denies it, evidence is then gone into; and if the witnesses depose positively to their having seen the accused commit the murder, the latter is again asked what he has to say; and if he still refuses to confess, he is whipped until he does; the con-

fession, when obtained, is reduced to writing and attested by the murderer, who is then put in irons and sent to jail.

"Cases of theft, robbery, incest, etc., are also dealt with in Nepal, and the convicts sent to prison. When the number amounts to twenty or thirty, the *dit'ha* [judge] makes out a calendar of their crimes, to which he appends their confession, and a specification of the punishment usually inflicted in such cases. This list the judge carries to the *Bharadar Sabha* (Council of State), whence it is taken by the Premier to the Prince, after the judge's allotment of punishment to each convict has been ratified, or some other punishment substituted.

"The list, so altered or confirmed in the Council of State, and referred by the Premier to the Prince, is as a matter of form sanctioned by the latter, after which it is re-delivered to the judge, who makes it over to the *araz-begi*. The latter, taking the prisoners, the *maha-naikias*, and some of the men of the *Porya* caste with him, proceeds to the banks of the *Bishen-mati*, where the sentence of the law is inflicted by the hands of the *poryas*, and in the presence of the *araz-begi* and the *maha-naikias*. Grave offences, involving the penalty of life or limb, are thus treated. With respect to mutual reviling and quarrels, false evidence, false accusation of moral delinquency, and such-like minor crimes and offences, punishment is apportioned with reference to the caste of the offender or offenders."

Hodgson's work soon began to attract the attention of the Foreign Office in Calcutta. In a letter to his sister we have heard of one of his reports being handed about with approval by the Governor-General and the Bishop. In another he sends home "the Court of Directors' public thanks" for his papers on the laws and institutions of Nepal. I have dwelt on his labours as Assistant Resident between 1825 and 1833, because it was those labours which gave him his strong grasp of Nepalese affairs during his next ten years as Resident. They show the spirit in which

Hodgson carried out Mr. Butterworth Bayley's advice of "Go back to Nepal and master the subject in all its phases." The reward which, when that advice was given, Hodgson had not dared to look forward to, now fell to him. At the age of thirty-three he became full Resident in Nepal.

At one time, indeed, it seemed as if his good fortune might have come even earlier. When the Honourable Edward Gardner retired from the service in 1829, the Governor-General appears to have considered the possibility of appointing Hodgson as Gardner's immediate successor. Hodgson had already distinguished himself both by his official reports and by his contributions to learned societies. Gardner recognised his capacity, although he possibly thought his abilities greater than his experience. Nor would the good word of distinguished officers at headquarters—of Butterworth Bayley, Herbert Maddock, and D'Oyly—be wanting, while the Governor-General's decision hung in the balance.

Lord William Bentinck took a course which was both wise and kind. He realised that Hodgson could not live on the Indian plains, and that Nepal was almost his only chance of a career in India. But Hodgson at twenty-nine was too young to be appointed permanent Resident in Nepal. Lord William Bentinck knew that, if he chose a middle-aged political of the ordinary type for the post, the officer would stay in it till the end of his service, and practically put an end to Hodgson's prospects. So he gave Hodgson a chance of proving his fitness for the eventual succession by allowing him to officiate for about eighteen months, and then appointed a Resident whose stay in Nepal would be almost necessarily a short one.

Sir Herbert Maddock was at that time midway in his brilliant career. He had been Governor-General's Agent for the Sagar and Narbada Territories, and in 1829 rose to the supremely important post of Resident with the King of Oudh at Lucknow. But his health had been

severely strained, and in 1831 he accepted for a time the less onerous duties and more healthy climate of the Residency in Nepal. Lord William Bentinck foresaw that that position could be only a brief resting-place in Maddock's upward flight. As a matter of fact Maddock, having satisfied himself that Hodgson might be safely trusted with the political management of Nepal, took furlough to Europe on January 21st, 1833, and Hodgson succeeded him as Resident.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESIDENT IN NEPAL.

1833 *TO THE FALL OF BHIM SEN IN* 1839.

HODGSON brought to his duties as Resident the convictions which he had slowly formed during the preceding twelve years in regard to our policy towards Nepal. He was now to labour throughout the remaining ten years of his Indian service to give effect to those convictions. He believed that if we wished to convert Nepal from a sulky and somewhat dangerous neighbour into a useful, even if not very cordial, ally, four distinct lines of action ought to be adopted and steadily pursued. Let me for a moment recapitulate.

In the first place, he held that an outlet should be found for the surplus military population of Nepal by enlisting the fighting castes into the Company's forces. Hodgson was thus the projector of the modern system of Gurkha regiments, as distinguished from the old local corps—the system of regular recruitment from the Nepalese highlanders which has received so important a development in our own times, and which now supplies very valuable materials to our Indian army.

In the second place, he believed that a new and healthy direction might be given to the energies of the people at large by fostering a Central Asian trade with India. He hoped, as I have mentioned, that Nepal, instead of continuing a barrier between India and High Asia, might become the meeting-ground for the merchants from both sides. He perceived that the commercial predominance

of Russia in inner Asia depended on her command of the caravan route; and he was the first British diplomatist who worked out a detailed plan for cutting the Russian route in the middle, and for diverting the Chinese and Tibetan land-trade by the shorter road to our Indian frontier, *viâ* Nepal.

With a view to effecting this he sought, in the third place, to come to clear understanding with the Nepalese Court as to the conditions under which commerce might enter and pass through the country. He also endeavoured to procure a definite legal status for British-Indian traders, and some security for their obtaining redress from the Nepalese tribunals. In the fourth place, he tried by a fair settlement of frontier questions, and by the completion and maintenance of a well-marked line of boundary pillars, to get rid of a chronic cause of umbrage in our relations with Nepal.

These objects Hodgson never lost sight of. We also must bear them in mind if we are to understand his attitude throughout the long period of palace intrigues, revolutions, and massacres on which Nepal was about to enter. The Queen-Regent, who had ruled conjointly with Bhim Sen, the Prime Minister, since 1805, died in 1832. The young King was only eighteen years old when his grandmother passed from the scene, and he was backward for his age.[1] Her death seemed for a time to leave the Prime Minister completely master of the situation. Bhim Sen's ambition, to which her royal prestige had acted as a counterpoise if not always as a check, now acknowledged no control.

It was at this juncture that Hodgson in the beginning of the following year, 1833, became full Resident of Nepal.

[1] In the Secret Consultations of the Government of India he is spoken of as sixteen. But the Nepalese chronology shows that he was two years old at the death of his father and his own nominal accession in November 1816.—Native records of Nepal, translated from an MS., and printed in Dr. Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 284. Ed. 1877.

The Prime Minister had for long studied the character and aims of the new British representative, and seemed anxious to conciliate Hodgson's goodwill by concessions which did not affect his own undivided power within Nepal, but which he knew that Hodgson had at heart. One of these objects was the final settlement of the long-standing boundary disputes. After the war in 1816 we had made over the Western Tarai or Nepalese borderland to the King of Oudh, but all efforts during the following fourteen years had failed to procure a demarcation of the frontier. When Hodgson was Acting Resident of Nepal in 1830, the Prime Minister yielded to the pressure which he brought to bear for a final adjustment, and the boundary line of the Western Tarai was at length completely marked out by a British officer in the presence of deputies from both States.[1]

The Eastern Tarai we partly kept in our own hands after the war of 1816, and partly restored to Nepal. But here again Bhim Sen had managed to defeat all efforts for a complete demarcation; and here also he displayed a willingness to meet what he knew to be one of Hodgson's special aims. Soon after Hodgson became full Resident in 1833, the Prime Minister concluded a final agreement, and this old source of frontier quarrels was closed.

The official records had noted, during Hodgson's Acting Residentship (1829—1831), "a gradual cessation of suspicion and distrust between the Nepalese and the people of the plains of India, and the increase of commerce, especially in the importation of Indian and European articles, to the exclusion of those from Bhutan and China." The Nepalese chiefs and Bhim Sen himself began to show "a growing inclination" "for British luxuries and customs."[2] The Prime

[1] Secret Consultations, No. 74, of January 18th, 1841.—*India Office MSS.*

[2] Secret Consultations (MSS.) of the Government of India, No. 74, of January 18th, 1841. These papers, under the title of *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu to Government from*

Minister also disclosed a willingness to meet Hodgson's wish for some international arrangement which would really ensure the delivering up of offenders and eventually lead to a legal status for British traders in Nepal. An unfortunate incident during Sir Herbert Maddock's tenure of office in 1832 "suspended for a time the negotiations," and it was not until some years after Hodgson became full Resident in 1833 that anything practical was effected.

But while the Prime Minister was willing to conciliate Hodgson's known desire for the extension of trade and for the settlement of boundary disputes, he used his undivided power after the death of the Queen-Regent to isolate the British Residency even more rigidly than before. Shortly after becoming Resident Hodgson thought it his duty to lay the situation plainly before the Government of India. He himself somewhat sadly acknowledges that he is "bound to Nepal by choice and necessity, by my feeble health and my peculiar pursuits, and [by] having neither a wish nor a hope beyond what I possess."[1] Yet he firmly tells his Government that a British Residency in Nepal was little more than a sham under the conditions which had for years been imposed upon it. "I am decidedly of opinion that it were better to put an end to the ludicrous mockery of Chinese foreign polity which the Minister has endeavoured to play off against the Residency since its establishment here."[2] On a recent occasion, when Mr. Maddock sent the Residency Munshi on a message of courtesy to the Raja, the Munshi was refused admission to the Prince's presence. "He was kept," says the official

1830 *to* 1840, by Mr. J. R. Tickell, the Assistant Resident, were afterwards printed for the use of the Foreign Department. But I had not seen this printed memorandum when I examined the MS. Consultations in the India Office.

[1] Resident of Nepal to Political Secretary to Government of India, dated June 3rd, 1833.—*India Office MSS.*

[2] *Idem.*

narrative, "in a remote part of the palace, and required to give his message to some people of no condition."[1]

Among other means of isolation, the Prime Minister increased the restrictions always placed on the officers of the Residency as regards excursions in the neighbourhood. This was carried so far as to incite the peasants to give trouble to the Resident or members of his staff while out shooting. Hodgson did not condescend to officially remonstrate for such petty annoyances, but he hit upon a rather ingenious device, and one which struck the Oriental imagination. "I sent my two last and best setters to the Minister's young son with a message that, as I had given up shooting in the fields, he was welcome to the dogs and would find them excellent ones." The Minister sent to say how sorry he was that his friend was no longer enjoying his usual sport, and asked the reason. Hodgson gently let the grounds of his annoyance appear in the conversation which followed, without laying stress upon them. The Prime Minister, who had a hill-man's sense of humour, saw that if he was to render the new Resident's position isolated it must be by some less paltry plan, and for the moment all was geniality and goodwill. The Governor-General, however, on hearing of these insolent restrictions, directed the Resident to make reprisals by refusing passports to Nepalese subjects proceeding to the Indian plains.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister began to discover that the death of his old ally and mistress, the Queen-Regent, was not an unmixed gain. Official appointments in Nepal, from the highest downwards, were nominally for twelve months only. The theory was that all public offices were, *ipso facto*, vacated each year and had to be formally renewed. This meant a change of the whole official body, or of as many of the officials as the ruling authority chose, at the annual ceremony of the Panjani, to exclude. Bhim Sen, being the ruling authority, had had his Prime-

[1] Secret Consultations, No. 24, of March 5th, 1833.—*India Office MSS.*

BHIM SEN THAPPA— PREMIER OF NEPAL.
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Ministership renewed as a matter of course during the previous twenty-eight years from 1805. But he took advantage of the custom to render the civil and military services entirely dependent on his favour, and removable at his will. There was, however, a dynastic party of "royal kinsmen"[1] in Nepal whose claims the Queen-Regent had wisely respected. Her death set free the Prime Minister from this restraint, and he promptly used his freedom. "So heavy a hand has Bhim Sen for the last thirty years laid[2] on the Nepalese chiefs," says the official record for 1833, "that, palpable and shameful as is his usurpation for years past of their rights, and now of the Raja's also, not one of them dares confront him openly."[3]

It had not occurred to Bhim Sen that the custom of annually vacating all offices at the Panjani could be applied to his own. He was now to find that the death of the clear-headed old Queen was allowing new forces to spring into existence with which he would have to reckon.

Hodgson saw the change coming, and at once realised what it meant alike to the Prime Minister and to the British position at Kathmandu. He firmly but courteously insisted on his Munshi being admitted to the Raja's presence, when sent on business from the Residency direct to the Prince. Without the right of direct audience it was impossible to know whether the communications of the British Government ever reached the Raja's ears. Within a month after he became Resident he submitted a confidential letter in his own handwriting to the Governor-General on "the state of parties in Nepal." Having described the relations of the Resident to the Raja with whom our treaty was made in 1816, he proceeds as follows:—[4]

[1] Generally but somewhat loosely spoken of as "the Chauntrias," of whom we shall presently hear more.

[2] The word is written *lived* in the MS. Consultations.

[3] Resident of Nepal to Political Secretary to Government of India, December 19th, 1833.—*India Office MSS.*

[4] The Resident to the Political Secretary to Government, dated

"A long minority followed his death, which minority has just expired, and during it all our intercourse has been with the Minister who, it seems, has grown so great by virtue of two minorities (with but a short interval between them), and thirty years of almost uninterrupted sovereign sway, that he cannot now subside into a subject and is determined to keep the Raja a cypher, as in his nonage, both with respect to power and to observance also as far as possible. Almost every office is filled with Bhim Sen's creatures; he and his family monopolise all the loaves and fishes. Mere children [1] of his kindred hold high commands. The ancient families of the Pandis and others who, by the constitution of this State, are entitled to share its counsels and exercise its highest offices, are excluded almost wholly from the one and other, besides being treated with habitual contumely by Matabar Singh, Bhim Sen's overbearing and heedless nephew.

"The Raja is hemmed into his palace, beyond which he cannot stir unaccompanied by the Minister, and then only to the extent of a short ride or drive. Even within the walls of his palace, the Minister and his brother both reside, the latter in the especial capacity of 'dry nurse' to His Highness.

"Last year the Raja desired to make an excursion into the lower hills to shoot. He was prevented by all sorts of idle tales and obstructions. This year he proposed visiting his palace at Nayakot, the winter residence of his fathers; again he was prevented as before. Of power he has not a particle, nor seems to wish it. Of patronage he has not a fraction; and is naturally galled at this, as well as at being sentinelled all round by Bhim Sen's creatures even within his own abode, at being debarred from almost

February 18th, 1833. The letter is too long for quotation in full, and I omit passages and proper names not essential to understanding the general situation.—*India Office MSS.*

[1] *E.g.* Colonel Shamsher Singh, aged 13, and Colonel Bahadur Jang, aged 12 years.

all liberty of locomotion, and of intercourse with the Sirdars and gentry of the country.

"In segregating him from his own gentry very plain and gross means are used; in segregating him from us, it is necessary to be more decorous and indirectly to effect the object. Non-intercourse is called the established etiquette of the Court. All sorts of idle rumours and fictions are employed to alarm him in respect both to our personal qualities and public designs. If he would go into the Tarai, he is told that the Feringhis will seize the opportunity of taking the valley whilst the troops are in honorary attendance upon him. Does he propose visiting Nayakot? He is informed that the Resident in his company will spy out the nakedness of the land.

"The Feringhis (it is eternally rung into his ear) have seized and conquered all [India]: they are the ablest and most designing of men; they have been kept eighteen years from devouring Nepal solely by the unparalleled vigilance and energy of Bhim Sen. All pleasant communications from and with the Residency are studiously thrown into the shade. All unpleasant ones, however trivial, are studiously glared upon the eyes of the Raja and of the other chiefs, not a soul among whom nor any attendant of theirs or of the Raja's being suffered to come near the Residency and learn the simple verity. And in this state of things any fiction, however gross, relative to our characters or views may be made to tell more or less with the naturally proud and suspicious Sirdars, and with the hopeless little recluse who occupies the throne.

"The Raja has been purposely so trained as to possess little energy of body or mind, so that had not his wife turned out an ambitious woman he would probably have submitted quietly to political nonentity, or but for her vigilance have been spirited into his grave as soon as he had begot a successor.

"But his wife is both spirited and clever, and she is incessantly upbraiding him for suffering himself to be

mewed up in his palace and rendered a mere idol (*mater kodeota*) for occasional exposure to the worship of the multitude. The Raja has already learnt from her to feel indignant at his personal insignificance and at this state of surveillance and restraint, and it seems probable that the continued operation of these expostulations, backed by hints from his nobles and chiefs, will ere long make his political nonentity especially in respect to patronage equally galling to him. Perhaps from prudence, much more likely from habitual dependence, the Raja has as yet most charily and slowly manifested signs of disgust, and his wife, irritated by his slowness, has, it is said, avowed to his friends her resolution to claim the rule of the kingdom in his name as the mother of two male children, in case he cannot soon be moved to assert either his personal or political liberty.

"During the Panjani just terminated, there was however a sort of pause, and the Premier was reinvested with the ensigns of his office. Other trivial indications have appeared within the last twelve months, and if they could be relied on as evidence of a deliberate design to strip Bhim Sen of his power, the counsels which dictated this cautious mode of procedure must be acknowledged to be consummately prudent. For Bhim Sen and his family monopolise the whole military command of the kingdom with the exception of the province of Sali. Almost every office is filled with the Minister's creatures; and his long and exclusive direction of affairs has denuded the opposite party of all experience as well as all power and patronage.

"Nevertheless no one knows better than Bhim Sen that, though the soldiery have been taught to look to him alone for pay and employ, they are too national not to abandon him at once for their Prince, if the Raja (as his grandfather in similar circumstances actually did) possessed the nerve to make a direct appeal to them against the Minister. And however Bhim Sen may have fortified himself by alliances, he cannot but be sensible

that the Gurkhali oligarchy possess a weight of adverse right which needs only to be put in motion by the sovereign himself to crush him and his family to pieces.

"Lastly, the members of Bhim Sen's family are not cordially united with him, except Matabar Singh and he is too headstrong to be trusted.

"All these circumstances have combined to render Bhim Sen of late provokingly captious and suspicious towards us; lest, I suppose, the Raja should perchance be undeceived as to the figments palmed on him relative to our personal impracticability and political dishonesty. The Minister, in defiance of custom alike and of decency, would now restrict still further the very little direct commerce ever maintained between the Resident and the Maharaja.

"The Minister is a great man and an able one, whose talents and energy constitute our best stay. Everything consistent with rectitude and the maintenance of a neutral policy should be willingly conceded to him. But there is too little justice in his monopoly of all power and all observance on the one hand, and on the other too much fraud in the use he makes of the utter ignorance of us to which he has reduced the opposite party, including the Prince and the mass of the gentry, to suffer us either in equity or in policy to allow him just now to raise fresh obstacles in the way of the very trivial intercourse we have ever maintained directly with the Court. With prudence and tact we may gradually and noiselessly recur to the model of Mr. Gardner's and the late Raja's intercourse, at least in matters of form, and must leave its adoption in matters of business to events and the pleasure of the Darbar.

"Distressing indeed it may be to witness the subordinate condition of the sovereign and the almost degraded lot of the gentry; but the affair is their own, not ours. We can but follow their movements, and are only concerned not quietly to acquiesce in a yet more restricted intercourse

with ourselves, because usage is against the further restriction, and because an unfair use would be made of it to our injury.

"The spirit of the Royal and Ministerial parties may be conceived from the fact that the Raja, having fallen ill last rains, resolutely and against all possible exertions of influence refused to employ the Court physician, from an avowed fear of being poisoned or otherwise made away with, as he said his father and grandfather had been, by Bhim Sen's procurement. The quarrels of the faculty and the disgrace of the Court physician made the matter public; and I am sorry to say the general opinion was that the Raja's allegation was true in all its parts both as respected himself and his father. The physician is a creature of the Minister's, and has now held the office of Raj Vaidya for thirty years.

"Parties animated by such sentiments towards each other as the above anecdote reveals must be warily avoided. Whilst we maintain a cordial intercourse with Bhim Sen so long as he can keep his seat *proprio vigore*, we must endeavour to act so as, despite the non-intercourse chicane, to convince all parties that we are sincerely and utterly indifferent and impartial, and are disposed to cultivate equally friendly relations with all or any which may stand forth as the constituted authority.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) B. H. HODGSON, Resident.

"NEPAL RESIDENCY, *February 18th*, 1833.

"P.S.—This letter has been copied for obvious reasons with my own hand, and I need hardly say it should be placed for some time in special deposit, out of the reach of all clerks and office people.—(Signed) B. H. H., Resident."

I have quoted from this confidential report at some length, for it not only sets forth with clearness the political situation with which Hodgson had to deal, but also the principles which from the beginning and throughout the

whole ten years of his Residentship regulated his own conduct. His aim was to secure that the communications of his Government should reach in an ungarbled form the responsible head of the Nepalese State. As the Raja had now entered on his twentieth year (1833-34), he was held to have attained his majority, and however he might be kept under the influence of the Prime Minister it was with the Raja himself that the British Government claimed the right to deal.

Before the year 1833 passed Hodgson's estimate of the situation was justified by the event. The Raja, backed by his chief wife, began to assert his authority, and an opposition to Bhim Sen organised within the palace was eagerly joined by the nobility outside. The elder of the Raja's two wives made advances to Hodgson with a view to obtaining the support of the Residency against the Minister; but to all such overtures, from whatever side, Hodgson turned a deaf ear. The Raja in vain urged the Prime Minister to give up some of his offices as sops to the opposition. The Panjani of 1833, or annual vacating of offices which Bhim Sen had used so long and so effectively against his opponents, was now turned against himself. The Raja let the festival go past without re-appointing him, but also without nominating any one in his place. All public business remained in abeyance, and although after a time the Raja reluctantly reappointed Bhim Sen as Prime Minister, it was felt that a new era had begun in Nepalese politics and in the Nepalese relations with the British power.

Each party in the State commenced to intrigue for support from without. At the end of 1833 Hodgson had to report the arrival of a secret letter from the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh "which was deemed to be too important to be entrusted to the perusal of the Court Munshi."[1] News also reached Nepal of a projected invasion of India by

[1] The Resident to the Political Secretary to Government, dated December 19th, 1833.—*India Office MSS.*

Persia and Russia. Forthwith the Nepalese Court despatched "an experienced spy" to Lahore and Teheran, and opened up clandestine negotiations with several of the great landholders within our own frontier. The rumoured Russian invasion of India proved to be merely a rumour; but a confederacy between Nepal and the Sikhs—the two Hindu powers who retained their independence on our north and north-western frontier—opened up a vista of dangerous contingencies.

In 1834 a fresh outburst of military aggressiveness took place in Nepal on the report of "our having marched the whole of our available force to the westward against Man Singh of Jodhpur, and thereby having left our territories on the Nepal frontier unprotected." "The Darbar," Hodgson reported, "as far as Bhim Sen could influence its sentiments, would hail the demonstration with joy, and would be ready to second it the moment such a course could be taken with any degree of prudence."[1] "This feeling, however, was quickly crushed by the news of the capitulation of Jodhpur." The barometer of Nepalese hostility against us, as he pithily puts it, rises or falls with each rumour of our being in trouble with other States.

It must be borne in mind that the war party was the one permanent party in Nepal. As I have already explained, all the non-servile population (except the Brahmans) were hereditary soldiers whose only career was arms. An appeal to the military instincts of the Nepalese was, therefore, always a popular appeal. From 1816 to 1832 Bhim Sen supported by the old Queen-Regent had held undisputed sway, and he had made only such moderate concessions to the national military proclivities as might keep him on fair terms with his countrymen while pursuing his own ends. But in the struggle for the Prime-Ministership which began to develop after the death of the Queen-Regent in 1832, not only he but every one of his

[1] The Resident to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, dated December 19th, 1833.—*India Office MSS.*

rivals had to court the aid of the military castes. The British Residency was the centre of the opposite or peace influences. Bhim Sen had experienced a British war, and as long as he was left to himself he was resolved not to repeat the experience. He had therefore, while secured by the prestige of the old Queen-Regent, only used the war party as a convenience. He now found that his rivals were bidding for the support of the war party in eager earnest.

It soon became a race as to who should gratify with most disregard to ulterior consequences the war instincts of the ruling castes. This state of things lasted, amid revolutions and massacres, from the death of the Queen-Regent in 1832 down to the establishment of Jang Bahadur's power in 1845, when, by a crowning butchery, Nepal started once again under the rule of an absolute Prime Minister. During the intermediate thirteen years the war party was the supreme party in Nepal. Throughout the first ten and most aggressive years it fell to Hodgson's lot to maintain peace.

Bhim Sen's appeal to the martial spirit of the chiefs for a time brought him fresh strength. In spite of the Raja's failing support and of the open hostility of his principal queen, the commencement of 1834 disclosed "Bhim Sen and his family in the possession of every provincial command throughout Nepal, with the exception of the government of Doti, which was held by a Chauntria or collateral member of the Royal Family."[1] The Prime Minister accordingly began the year in no mood for arrangements with a view to promote commerce with India or to secure a legal status to British subjects trading in Nepal. Negotiations went on nevertheless, for Bhim

[1] Secret Consultations, No. 74, of January 18th, 1841.—*India Office MSS. Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu to Government from* 1830 *to* 1840, compiled by the Assistant Resident Mr. J. R. Tickell, and forwarded by the Resident B. H. Hodgson, to T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India.

Sen shrewdly surmised that he might ultimately have to look to British support. Nor was Hodgson without hope that he on his side might utilise this incipient sense of weakness to secure better terms for Indians trading in Nepal.

The discussions as to the British boundary line progressed. But negotiations for delivering up robbers who had fled from our districts into Nepal proved fruitless, while those for an international judicial procedure remained at a dead-lock. The Nepalese did not object to British subjects being tried according to our procedure, but they insisted that in certain cases the punishment should be according to theirs. Thus a Gurkha soldier "should take the same vengeance on a British subject as he was permitted by the laws of his country [to take] on a Nepalese, if convicted of adulterous intercourse with his wife; *i.e.* cut his head off on the earliest opportunity. The incompatibility of this clause with our ideas of retributive justice," adds the report somewhat magniloquently, "suspended for a time the negotiation."

Hodgson was more successful in his attempts to arrange a commercial treaty with Nepal. As the year 1834 went on, Bhim Sen received another hint that his supremacy was on the wane, and he began to realise more clearly that he might need the Resident's support. The balance accordingly swung back in favour of Hodgson's projects of a closer union of interests between India and Nepal. In November the Nepalese Court finally agreed to the draft of a commercial treaty with the British Government which, although not all that Hodgson desired, marked an important step towards it. A moderate customs tariff was to be established, Nepal with characteristic haughtiness claiming a difference in her favour. Speedy justice was to be rendered to merchants in case of fiscal extortions. Above all, appeals in such cases were to be referred through the Resident.[1] Hodgson was able to forward the

[1] The Nepalese proposals ran as follows: 1st. The produce and

treaty for consideration by his Government in March 1835, and although not then accepted, it furnished a basis for a somewhat improved *modus vivendi* between the Resident and the Nepalese Court.

Hodgson also took advantage of the Prime Minister's oscillation towards a better understanding with the British to seek redress for a long-standing currency grievance. Till then Nepal had refused to allow the re-export of any British-Indian coin that once crossed its frontier. Our high-standard rupees, when paid in Nepal, were swept into the mint and recast in the Nepalese coinage, which contained so much alloy as to preclude its passing current even in the British districts close to the border. The Nepalese merchants had therefore no currency in which they could pay for British imports, and such imports had either to be bartered for Nepalese products, or adjusted by the secret illegal conveyance of British rupees out of Nepal. This impediment to international commerce Hodgson now tried to remove, but had yet to bide his time. Nepal still refused to permit the re-export of any

manufactures of Nepal and Tibet to pay a duty of 4 per cent Kuldar, *ad valorem*, in the British provinces; and British and Hindustan produce, an import duty at Nepal of 5 per cent Muhindra Mulli rupees, *ad valorem*, according to the market rates in Nepal. 2nd. No other or further duty to be paid in either State on any conditions. 3rd. The entire duty above-mentioned to be levied and paid at once. 4th. Proposes a limited number of Custom-Houses in either State, of which a list is given, seventeen in British India and twenty-one in Nepal. 5th. Provides for the punishment of any Customs Officers infringing the provisions of Clause 2. 6th. Speedy justice to be available to merchants of either State on any ground of complaint arising from extortion, etc., of Customs Officers in British India or Nepal. 7th. Appeals from the decisions of the collectors of Customs in either State to be referred through the Resident. 8th. Lists of the produce of either State to be prepared and authenticated by the Governor-General and Raja of Nepal, and goods hitherto free of duty to remain so. 9th. The treaties of 1792 and 1801 A.D. to be considered rescinded.—*Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu to the Government of India, from* 1830 *to* 1840, compiled by Mr. J. R. Tickell, para. 18.

British-Indian coinage that once passed its Customs' line.

While these negotiations were going on, Bhim Sen received the first unmistakable warning of his coming downfall. He represented the great Nepalese house of the Thappas, which he had raised to supremacy on the ruins of another powerful family the Kala Pandis. The Pandis had been all-powerful at the beginning of the century, and it was with Damodar Pandi as Prime Minister that our envoy Captain Knox treated in 1801. Knox described Damodar Pandi as a man "possessing a plain sober understanding, moderation with great firmness, void of artifice, and as a soldier unrivalled in Nepal for gallantry and conduct."[1] He and his house were soon afterwards destroyed by Bhim Sen. The murder of the King in 1805 left the Queen-Regent and Bhim Sen in absolute power, and the Pandis broken by beheadings, exile, and confiscation. During thirty years the latter did not dare to reassert themselves, and the chief rivals of Bhim Sen since the Queen-Regent's death in 1832 had been those of his own household. His younger brother Ranbir Singh ingratiated himself with the boy-King, says Hodgson, as "the constant attendant on his childhood," and on the death of the Queen-Regent he became General Commandant of the Nepal Army. Not content with this important office, he incited the young King to join with him in ousting his elder brother Bhim Sen from the Prime-Ministership, in the hope of securing the reversion for himself.

Two years of family intrigue followed, in which a nephew of the Prime Minister, Matabar Singh, also came to the front as a staunch supporter of the Prime Minister in his efforts to curb Ranbir's ambition. If Ranbir enjoyed the secret favour of the King, Matabar had the enthusiastic support of the troops, with whom his youth and gallant

[1] Quoted in Campbell's official memorandum drawn up under Hodgson's supervision in 1837, pp. 9, 17, etc.

bearing made him a favourite. In 1834 he received a check through the influence of Ranbir. But "such was the popularity he enjoyed among the Gurkha soldiery that on his resigning the command of the two battalions formerly under him, the whole of them with the exception of two hundred men laid down their arms, refusing to serve under any other leader."[1] The King became afraid, tried to conciliate Matabar, and in November 1834 appointed him General Commanding the Eastern Districts with 3,000 troops. So far the old Prime Minister and his loyal nephew had held their own in the family intrigue.

The year 1834 was not to close, however, without revealing that the Prime Minister had enemies very different from those of his own house. The heir of the Pandis, whom Bhim Sen had ruined and exiled in the early years of the century, suddenly came forward, and petitioned the King for the restitution of the family honours and estates. "This sudden revival of claims nearly extinct for thirty-one years, and after so complete an extirpation as the Kala Pandis had undergone through means of the very man now paramount in the State, struck all with astonishment."[2] The boldness of the measure, together with the favourable manner in which the Rāja received the petition, seemed to the Resident to indicate some secret influence in the palace. As a matter of fact the Pandis had secured the support of the Raja's senior or principal wife. "From this date may be reckoned the commencement of a counter-revolution and of those intrigues of the Kala Pandis which eventually succeeded so well in the overthrow of their rival [Bhim Sen], and in repaying the cruelties which they had themselves suffered at his hands."[3]

By the beginning of 1835 seven factions had developed

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu*, para. 20. Ranbir's corps, when their commander had met with a temporary check in his intrigues in December 1833, had done the same thing.

[2] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu*, para. 21. Secret Consultations.—*India Office MSS.* [3] *Idem.*

at the Court of Nepal, all requiring to be carefully watched by the Resident, each from time to time coquetting for his support, and from time to time making appeals to the popular warlike sentiment in Nepal against the presence of a foreign representative at their capital. Hodgson had the delicate task of maintaining an attitude of dignified non-interference towards them all, which should not improperly pledge his Government on the one hand, nor give offence on the other. The principal *dramatis personæ* in the series of tragedies that followed may be briefly enumerated.

First, the *fainéant* King ambitious of becoming actual ruler, at first with the help of Ranbir Singh the brother and rival of the Prime Minister, subsequently with the aid of the Pandi faction hostile to the Prime Minister's whole clan. After suffering many degradations, the poor King was finally deposed in 1847, and died a State prisoner.

Second, the King's chief wife, known as the Senior Queen, who tried to assert her authority by the help of the Pandis. After furious outbursts in which she more than once quitted the palace in a rage, she died on her way into exile, as rumoured at the time from poison, but apparently from jungle-fever caught on her flight towards the Indian plains in 1841.

Third, the King's second wife, known as the Junior Queen, who hoped to rise to power by supporting the Thappas (the clan of the Prime Minister Bhim Sen), and by opposing the Pandis. After a long struggle she obtained her full political rights as Queen in January 1843, restored the Thappas with the gallant Matabar as Prime Minister, lost her power on his assassination in 1845, and was afterwards exiled to the Indian plains.

Fourth, the Chauntrias, or collateral branches of the royal race with hereditary claims to high office. Kept down during the long supremacy of Bhim Sen, they re-asserted their rights as his power waned, and secured the Prime-Ministership for their clan more than once after his

fall, but lost their leaders by exile and assassination, and finally went down in the great massacre of 1846.

Fifth, the Thappa family, headed by the Prime Minister Bhim Sen who after a six years' struggle to maintain his power since the death of the old Queen-Regent was degraded in 1837, and cut his throat in prison to avoid torture in 1839. His rival brother Ranbir became a fakir, or wandering mendicant, to save his life. His gallant nephew Matabar, after long exile, obtained the Prime-Ministership through the influence of the Junior Queen in December 1843, and was murdered in 1845.

Sixth, the rival family of the Pandis, who had been crushed for thirty years by Bhim Sen. Headed by Ranjang, the son of the Prime Minister murdered at the beginning of the century, they began to reclaim their rights in 1834. By the palace intrigues of the Senior Queen, Ranjang obtained more than once the Prime-Ministership, and after many murders perished himself in the general slaughter and exile of the Pandis in 1843. His principal kinsmen were beheaded. The aged Ranjang "was brought to the place of execution, but being in a dying state, he was merely shown to the people and then removed to his own house, where he died naturally a few hours afterwards."

Seventh, the Brahman party, in turn allied and opposed to all the foregoing factions of the military castes. Unjustly kept out of their hereditary appointments, the Brahmans emerged with Raghunath Pandit as their leader on the downfall of Bhim Sen. During the confusion which followed, the hostile factions allowed Raghunath Pandit to obtain the Prime-Ministership till each could gather its own forces. The Brahman, however, discovered the times to be too perilous for a man of peace, and finding himself unsupported even by the poor King soon resigned the premiership. He reappeared from time to time, especially as chief of a coalition ministry in 1840; always keeping out of harm's way, and content to retire to the safe seclusion of a religious life whenever danger threatened

All these factions came in their turn to the front amid palace intrigues and massacres during Hodgson's Residentship from 1833 to 1843. Each did its best to establish its power by destroying its rivals, and, with the exception of the Brahman party, each when its time arrived shared the common fate of slaughter and ruin. The ablest and most confident of the rival ministers Matabar Singh, when he finally established his supremacy, told the Resident that since the foundation of the Nepalese dynasty every Prime Minister had met with a violent death, but that, for his own part, "he hoped he would escape." One dark night, less than three months later, his mangled corpse was let down by a rope into the street from a window of the palace.[1]

While these homicidal politicians were struggling up to power, murdering each other and in their turn getting murdered, a youth was silently watching the blood-stained arena. Jang Bahadur, a grand-nephew of Bhim Sen, managed to elude the Pandi sleuth-hounds on the destruction of his grand-uncle in 1839. He obtained the judicial office of Kaji, but led a life of self-contained retirement. He accompanied his long-exiled uncle Matabar Singh on his triumphant return to Nepal in February 1843, Hodgson's last year of office, and plunged on his own account into the game of intrigue and massacre. After the slaughter of the Pandis in that year, the murder of Matabar Singh in 1845, the dethronement of the King in 1847, and other assassinations and exiles too numerous to recount, Jang Bahadur emerged the final winner, and retained to the end of his life as Prime Minister the almost supreme authority which his grand-uncle Bhim Sen had exercised for a third of a century.

I have explained the factions and intrigues which made up Nepalese politics between the decline of Bhim Sen's power in 1835 and the ascendency of Jang Bahadur in

[1] Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, pp. 343-346, Vol. I. Ed. 1880. This was in 1845, after Hodgson left Kathmandu.

1847, as it fell to Hodgson to deal with them in their most acute stages. His cheery letters home made light of the difficulties and dangers of his position. But the official records of the Government of India prove how real those difficulties and dangers were. Meanwhile the rise of the rival faction of the Pandis in 1834 led Bhim Sen to realise yet more clearly that the Resident, who represented the interests of external peace and of the royal authority within Nepal, might be used as a prop for his tottering power. Accordingly the spring of 1835 witnessed a new inclination on the part of the Nepalese Court, still under Bhim Sen's Prime-Ministership, to agree to the commercial and judicial arrangements which Hodgson had so long urged as the surest means of arriving at an understanding between Nepal and the British Government.

In May 1835 Hodgson wrote jubilantly to his steadfast correspondent Lady D'Oyly, who had been urging him to seek a more conspicuous career than he could hope for in Nepal. He may be forgiven if he mistook the *rapprochement* of the moment for a permanent improvement in the attitude of the Nepalese Court. "The Darbar is growing exceedingly civil, and I have now at last a prospect of seeing the realisation of those hopes which have buoyed me up these ten years. I think I have by unwearied kindness and confidence melted the rock of Gurkha alienation and jealousy; and if so, I shall be, ere long, able to turn the Darbar away from its suicidal prosecution of the old policy of wars of aggression, and to induce it gradually to accommodate its institutions to its circumstances, as fixed by the late war with us. Let me succeed in this; and I shall have the pleasure of reflecting hereafter that, in my public career, I did a real and great service to my Government, and one which no other officer could have done. For my influence is the result of very long intimacy with the people, backed by untiring forbearance and kindness, despite of numberless absurd demonstrations of *fierté* on their part.

"Government little understand the matter, and my anticipations of applause from that quarter are too feeble to admit of disappointment. My own conscience and judgment, however, will richly reward me, and whilst I live I shall reflect with delight that I saved a gallant and ignorant people from the precipice on which they were rushing by force of national habits and incapacity to survey comprehensively their relative situation. You would 'as soon be a cabbage as live in Nepal.' *Eh bien*, Eliza! there is no disputing about tastes. To me the possible realisation of the aim and object I have just named affords a stimulus too high for words to convey.

"The other day when an amiable old chief answered me with tears, whilst I explained the friendly purpose of some of my past earnest and even stern warnings, rejoicing that at last they seemed to have taken effect—when the good old man embraced me and told me that I should long be remembered as the saviour of Nepal—I felt that those words and expressions of his were indeed (in Scott's language) 'worth living for.' Eliza! I have seen your eye kindle and beam with the energy of the immortal spirit within at a fictitious tale of generous devotion: have you no sympathy for the reality?

"But this strain is somewhat too high. I quit it to allude to other respects in which Nepal has real and rational charms for me—for any one of cultivated mind and self-resource. What say you to its delicious climate, its glorious scenery, with the enduring, accessible, and healthful gratifications inseparable from them? What say you to the possession of leisure by a servant of the public? what to duties free from all tedious and petty routine-labour?

"I waive the commonplaces on retirement—but there is truth in them, or they had never been commonplace! And, for my part, as I sit at this moment in my study with my cheek fanned by the most temperate of breezes, and my eye filled with the splendid garniture of Mount

Arjun, I could almost consent to live and die here and should never cast a longing look towards the third-rate society of all our Indian stations, Calcutta excepted. I am naturally of too eager a temperament for either the fiery clime or the killing labours of office below; and many a time have I blessed God that He was pleased to cast my official lot in Nepal. Adieu; cherish my brother William for my sake, and believe that whilst I live I never cease to love and honour you. Yours most affectionately,

"B. H. HODGSON."

During the course of this year 1835 Bhim Sen seemed resolved to conciliate the British Resident by acts as well as by words. The Nepal Court issued an order under the Red Seal of the King, commanding its warden of the marches to deliver up to our authorities a famous leader of banditti who had long committed depredations in the Company's territories with the connivance of the Nepalese frontier officers. Certain of the higher and military castes had hitherto been exempted by Nepalese law from suffering death for capital crimes. This privilege enabled them to plunder with impunity on the border. Hodgson's remonstrances were at length successful in obtaining the abolition of an immunity which acted as a direct incentive to crime. The Prime Minister published a royal proclamation warning all Nepalese subjects residing on the frontier that they should hereafter be punished according to the gravity of their offences, without regard to their rank or caste.

The King, under Bhim Sen's prompting, even proposed to send the Prime Minister's nephew on a conciliatory mission to England—"as a traveller desirous of seeing all the wonders reported of that country, and to manifest the entire confidence placed on British faith in thus throwing into their hands the life and honour of one of their principal chiefs."[1]

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu to Government.* Tickell's Memorandum.—*Secret Consultations*, India Office.

Pending the permission of the British Government, the said nephew, Matabar Singh, was despatched with presents to the Governor-General in Calcutta and letters for the King of England. He started in November 1835 for the Indian plains with a splendid retinue of 650 picked troops, a little army of followers, and forty elephants. The idea of a visit to England faded away when he was informed that he could be permitted to go only as a private traveller, and that all public communications with the British sovereign must pass through the Resident and the Government of India. But he returned to Nepal in March 1836 delighted with the courtesies shown to him in Calcutta.

It seemed as if Hodgson had at length succeeded in making the Nepalese Court sincerely desirous of our friendship. At that time the Acting Governor-General Lord Metcalfe was urging on measures for the extirpation of the gangs of Thugs, or professional stranglers and robbers, who had for half a century infested the trade-routes of India. The campaign against this widespread organisation of murder was chiefly conducted by means of captured Thugs who turned informers against their brethren. Numbers of the criminal fraternity sought refuge beyond the Nepal frontier, but the Nepalese officials had hitherto refused to give them up on the evidence of informers. In 1836 the King and Prime Minister consented to accept that evidence as sufficient to warrant the surrender of such refugees, provided that the charge was corroborated by local testimony in the places where the Thug had found shelter. The Nepalese Court saved the appearance of making a concession by stipulating for a reciprocal surrender by our magistrates of refugee Thugs from Nepal—a condition little likely to ever come into effect, and to which Hodgson agreed with a smile.

Beyond this sign of amity, however, the Nepalese Court declined to go. The proposed treaty of commerce[1] with India broke down, as Nepal still insisted on an insolent

[1] *Vide ante*, pp. 140, 147.

preference to herself in rates of tariff between the two countries. Unsuccessful also were the negotiations to secure an equal punishment and reciprocity in jurisdiction for offenders belonging to either State.

Before the year 1836 closed, the Prime Minister received yet another warning of downfall. The rival faction of the Pandis procured the public arraignment of his nephew Matabar Singh on the charge of cohabiting with his late brother's widow. The inquiry did not proceed, but the accuser escaped scathless. The pecuniary necessities of the royal family also began to bear heavily on the Prime Minister. The King had now six children, one of them nearly marriageable, and the growing expenses of the palace involved retrenchments in the public service. The established custom was to pay many of the officials and military commanders by grants of land. These grants had been allotted about half a century previously. With the increase of the population, their money value had nearly doubled. The King felt a personal interest in their reduction, and Bhim Sen found that, to maintain his influence in the palace, he must embark on a policy of resumption which the military castes resented as confiscation. A sum of £140,000 was thus brought into the treasury. But the relief to the royal finances did not prove so great as had been expected, for the King used the money to raise a body-guard which he intended to ultimately number 1,700 men.

Hodgson had sufficient money troubles of his own at this period. The steady drain on his income to support his parents' establishment at Canterbury had of late years been increased by fitting out his civilian brother Edward, helping from time to time his artillery brother William, and furnishing the marriage expenses of his sisters. Edward's death in July 1835 and William's marriage laid further burdens on the bread-winner of the family in Nepal, and Hodgson found himself compelled for the first time to ask for a respite in the matter of home-remittances. He

feels his solitude and separation the more keenly as the communications from England take more and more a business tone on the question of supplies. The following letter, dated August 16th, 1836, will serve to remind us that, amid the dangers and incessant labours entailed on him by Nepalese intrigues, he had private as well as public cares:—

"MY DEAREST FATHER,—I have several letters to acknowledge, but of late my pens and almost my fingers have been worn to stumps with incessant scribbling. So business first! Some time ago I sent you £200, and I have desired the Asiatic Society to pay a debt due to me of £60 into Coutts' hands, who have been ordered to make over the amount to you. It will pay for Edward's gun which William took. He got the fishing-tackle also, but the hats, etc., were seized by the Registrar of the Supreme Court and sold as assets of the estate, the proceeds of which are Rs. 1,500 and the debts Rs. 5,500. I have been called on to pay the balance of Rs. 4,500 (*sic*),[1] or £450, and I must pay Palmer's share of it, which alone is Rs. 3,500, or £350.

"May I hope, then, to be excused making you a remittance this year? My pension period is approaching and I shall have to pay half its value, or Rs. 50,000, ere I can get it. But whence obtain the money, if I never begin to save? And what will country and kin be to me, if I stay above twenty-three years at one stretch in this land? I have, I hope, still a warm heart and a true, but Nature will assert her authority; and as you so beautifully say in reference to poor Ned as compared with me, the golden links which bind us are not proof against the vile solvent power of Time, and absolute non-community of ideas and pursuits.

"Try it how we will, we cannot keep up a community of that sort for years unnumbered; and gradually all images

[1] The calculation probably allowed Rs. 500 for the Registrar's fees and legal expenses.

of affection become shadows of shades. If then we are to know each other again in this world, I must hasten to you in 1840. Nor will I fail, should impecuniosity not interpose. Meanwhile do, if you can, keep the idea of me distinct; for it was not with a dry eye that I read your unintentional declaration to the contrary. I remember you and my mother as freshly as though we had parted yesterday. Yet it is true that the details of the image wax fainter and fainter. God's will be done."

Next year, 1837, was one of revolution and counter-revolution in Nepal. It commenced with a palace-affront to Bhim Sen, which made the aged Minister again hesitate whether it would not be safest for him to end all conciliatory dealings with the British, and once and for all throw in his lot with the war party in Nepal. Bhim Sen had hitherto managed to have a dependent of his own appointed as head of the quinquennial embassies which Nepal was bound in homage to send to Pekin. His enemies the Pandis now obtained the nomination for one of themselves, and although the King's courage failed in carrying out their design, the office was withdrawn from the faction of Bhim Sen and given to a collateral member[1] of the royal family. These royal collaterals, or Chauntrias, henceforth come to the front as a rival faction in the State. At the annual change of offices[2] in February 1837 they obtained the office held by the Prime Minister's nephew, Matabar, who only last year had returned triumphant from his mission to Calcutta, but who was now ousted from his military command as he would not submit to the recent reduction in its allowances.

The Brahman party, finding the time ripe for safe action, also struck in. Their political leader Raghunath Pandit had been a moderate supporter of Bhim Sen. But he now discerned that the old Minister was no longer either to be courted or to be feared, and he had his own score to settle

[1] Puskar Shah Chauntria. [2] The Panjani.

with him. As far back as 1816, just after the war, he had been an unsuccessful rival of Bhim Sen for the Prime-Ministership. Moreover all judicial offices, the hereditary monopoly of the Brahmans, had for some time been given to soldiers. Even the Chief-Justiceship was held by a captain or lieutenant in the army.[1] About the middle of 1837 Raghunath, backed by the Brahmans, joined in the general scramble for office and secured the Chief-Justiceship, not without rumours of his aspiring to the Premiership itself.

Such was the situation in June 1837, when Hodgson, at the desire of the new Governor-General, Lord Auckland,[2] drew up a confidential account of the Gurkhas or Nepalese. He wrote it according to his custom with his own hand, and the original now in my possession makes sixteen closely covered pages of large paper. Space compels me to quote only a few paragraphs.[3]

"His Lordship is already aware that the Gurkhas are eminently national and united; that their union is recent, illustrated by splendid success in arms, and supported by the unsophisticated simplicity of the Highland character. They have neither arts nor literature, nor commerce, nor a rich soil to draw off their attention from arms; and they have that lusty hardihood of character and contempt of drudgery which make war especially congenial.

"I have often said, and now repeat, that when in 1816 we drew a line round the territory of these men, leaving them no outlet save upon ourselves, we should either have crippled them effectually or have insisted on a change in their institutions, giving the surplus soldiery employment in our own armies. We did neither: we did nothing then or subsequently; and we now see the fruits of our mistakes

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu.* Tickell's Memorandum, para. 36.

[2] Succeeded Lord Metcalfe in 1836.

[3] Letter from B. H. Hodgson to J. R. Colvin, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor-General, dated June 24th, 1837.

or indifference. Rulers are too apt to fancy that, when they make a great effort, the crowning work has been achieved once and for all; and calmly and justly as Lord Hastings characterised the people and the war before and pending its progress, no sooner was it over than he insensibly stole to that conclusion.

"In the twenty years that we have been here since the war, we have seen nothing but drills and parades, heard nothing but the roar of cannon or the clink of the hammer in arsenal or magazine. Soldiers have been and are heads of the law and finance at Kathmandu, and administrators of the interior: soldiers have been and are everything, and they are and have been headed by a plenary viceroy (Bhim Sen) of that old stamp which must support its habitual aggression at home by pandering to the soldiery, and teaching them to look to aggression abroad.

"It is a remarkable fact, moreover, that since we had first to do with this Darbar in 1792, we have had to deal exclusively with a military mayor of the palace—in other words with a man having, by the essential tenure of his station, one hand against his prince and the other against his neighbours.

"The Raja or head of the Outs is young himself, has two young wives and seven young children. Reasonable indulgence and addiction to pleasure of various kinds may be expected from them, though not from their old and iron-minded opponent. And if a young Court once gave way to recreation, there would soon be a diversion of funds inconsistent with the past and existing sacrifice of all things to an inordinate and useless army."

After describing the various factions in Nepal, he proceeds: "But is there no probability of a contest between the parties, and would not their cutting each other's throats in a civil war be a sufficient security of us? I do not expect any strife in the shape of civil war, though the chiefs may, *more majorum*, draw their swords on each other. Nor do I deem it a safe presumption that a civil

war, if it occurred, would benefit us. Civil wars have rather a tendency to feed than to quench martial spirit and power; and if one broke out here, I should expect it to be diverted *per fas et nefas* upon us before it had raged three months. But there is no probability of its occurrence. The unsophisticated character and eminent nationality of the Nepalese soldiery, as they have ever stayed domestic war in past times, so they doubtless will in the future. There is no instance of it in the turbulent history of the people; and, cypher as the Raja has been and still seems to be, and omnipotent as the Minister has been and still seems to be, no one here doubts that if the former willed the death of the latter, the Minister's head would be as speedily off as was that of Damodar (the Bhim Sen of his day) in 1802. I, therefore, neither expect civil war, nor think it could possibly advantage us if it occurred. In all human probability it would speedily afford occasion for the turbulent and reckless to assault us, come what might of the struggle.

"So long as order prevails so long I think we could, if we deemed it expedient, by coming forward distinctly to countenance the weaker party at present, give it the preponderance. But I would not advise such a proceeding unless the Minister were clearly seeking to drive things to extremity with us, because he felt that quiet must undo him at home. This sort of crisis excepted, I would continue looking on merely as heretofore until the expected change occur; or, until having occurred, it produce no amendment or promise of amendment. If the change come not soon or come without improvement, I would take the first fair occasion of a reckoning with Nepal. If the change seems to tremble in the balance, wanting but a simple manifestation on our part in favour of the legitimate head of the State, that manifestation should be made by-and-by, and under a distincter probability of quiet efficacy than now exists. In the mode there need be no interference so called. For we are certainly entitled to have our

general views and purposes fairly stated in Darbar, and a civil letter from the Governor-General to the Raja, saying that his Lordship had for some time past expected the agreeable news of his Highness's majority, would, under many probable phases of party, suffice."

Hodgson's prediction that the feuds of the chiefs, however deadly to themselves, would not lead to civil war in Nepal proved correct. Throughout the military revolutions and massacres of the next eight years there was not one popular rising. The people let the rival nobles kill each other, and obeyed whichever faction for the time being spoke in the name of royalty. Hodgson also diagnosed the situation aright when he declared that the best way of maintaining our influence in Nepal was to insist on our claim for direct communication with the Raja, who alone had a permanent stake in the maintenance of the dynasty. The Resident urged this view not only on the new Governor-General Lord Auckland, but also on the great Indian statesman who, after acting as Governor-General for a year, had been appointed Governor of Agra.

"I cannot help thinking," he wrote to Sir Charles Metcalfe[1] on July 15th, 1837, "that unless we mean to wait upon Providence, and passively expect another war, we ought if need be to insist on effectual access to the legitimate head of the State, who has for many reasons by far the greatest interest in peace and quiet. All others, scrambling for distinction and advancement, must gain them by and through the army, which is the beginning, the middle, the end. Hence the perpetual interested striving of these soldier-ministers to strengthen and increase the army. The Raja has suffered as much as we by this system; and the Raja is obviously the only man here who has enough of his own, if he can hold it, and has consequently no interested perpetual craving for personal advancement. All others are *cupidi novarum rerum*: the Raja alone may rest as he is."

[1] Afterwards Lord Metcalfe.

Lord Auckland adopted these views. In a cordial letter through his Private Secretary[1] he thanked Hodgson for his exposition of Nepalese affairs, and declared that "the Government is desirous that you should do all that you prudently can to acquire and maintain a free personal intercourse with the Raja on all matters in which we are concerned. It will be a great point gained to win his confidence, and to give him, by courting frequent and direct communication with him, confidence in himself. To seek immediate access to him on occasions in which we are closely interested is a legitimate object, our measures for securing which cannot involve us in the evils which might follow, sooner or later, were we to be exposed to any suspicion of sharing in the party conflicts by which the Darbar is likely to be divided. It will be enough if your sentiments on internal affairs be asked for, to aid the Raja in keeping the control of the Government in his own hands, and in selecting prudent, impartial, and honest counsellors."

Before this confirmation of his views could be received, Hodgson's policy of steadily looking to the Raja as the responsible head of the State (by whatever faction he was for the moment controlled) had borne a severe test. In July 1837 Ranjang Pandi was publicly reinstated in his ancestral possessions, and the nominees to whom Bhim Sen had granted them were turned out. Ranjang now boldly stood forth as the accuser of the Prime Minister's nephew in the charge of incest which had been hushed up last year. At the same time the Raja, fearing that the army would side with Bhim Sen's family, put a stop to the practice of the chiefs moving about with their usual military retinues. The Prime Minister's party having thus been weakened by partial deprivation of office and stripped of their armed followers, an occasion was sought for striking the long-meditated blow.

[1] MS. letter from J. R. Colvin, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor-General, dated August 31st, 1837, to B. H. Hodgson, Esq.

Chance soon gave the opportunity. On July 24th, 1837, the Raja's youngest son died suddenly, and a rumour was spread that the child had fallen a victim to poison designed by Bhim Sen for its mother, the Senior Queen, who was the mainstay of the rival Pandi faction. In the panic, Ranjang Pandi was appointed Prime Minister. Bhim Sen was "seized, ironed, and thrown into prison, while the whole of his family were placed under close arrest; Matabar Singh being shortly after ironed in the same manner as his uncle."[1] The doctor who attended the child was subjected to excruciating agonies till he denounced Bhim Sen's party; he was then crucified.[2] The chief royal physicians and the whole kindred of Bhim Sen were incarcerated, "proclaimed outcasts, and their property confiscated. They were fearfully tortured to induce them to confess, but not a syllable to criminate any one was elicited."[3] As a matter of fact the whole charge was an invention trumped up by the Pandis to secure Bhim Sen's overthrow, as they themselves confessed six years later.[4]

The revolution was no sooner completed than the conspirators feared they had gone too far. The dynastic party of "royal collaterals"[5] remonstrated with the King. Ranjang the Pandi was forced to make over the Prime-Ministership to Raghunath the Brahman. The chief royal physician, who had been branded with a hot iron and outcasted, was restored to favour. Bhim Sen and his nephew Matabar were released. But the aged Minister's spirit

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu to Government.* Tickell's Memorandum, para. 38.

[2] This is the word used in Tickell's Memorandum, para. 42, when referring back in 1839 to the transaction, both in the original MS. and in the printed office copy. The physician is merely said to have been "tortured to death" in para. 38 of the same manuscript report.

[3] Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I., p. 310. Ed. 1880. I have not found documentary evidence at the India Office that torture was on this occasion applied to Bhim Sen or his relatives. But Dr. Oldfield, as Resident Surgeon at Kathmandu, had access to the local records.

[4] *Idem.*, p. 336.

[5] The Chauntrias.

was broken. On his being brought into the Darbar "the old man fell on his face at the Raja's feet and was forgiven, with the restoration to him of his garden house, which had been confiscated during the late commotion, and the settlement of a pension of Rs. 3,000."[1] A few days later he had another audience from the Raja and even from his inveterate enemy the Senior Queen. He received a dress of honour and a caparisoned horse, and "returned to his garden house followed by crowds of soldiers and by the people of the city."[2]

The new Brahman Prime Minister astutely used the fallen statesman as a support against the Pandis, now his chief rivals for power. The ruined relatives of Bhim Sen were honourably received at Court, and attended through the city by enthusiastic crowds "cheering them to their thresholds."[3] It almost seemed as if the violence of the Pandi was to be checkmated by the craft of the Brahman. Ranjang Pandi, alarmed by the popular demonstrations in favour of Bhim Sen, asked leave from the Raja to retire to a religious life at Benares. But the Raja, apprehensive that the complete withdrawal of the Pandi would leave the other factions too powerful, refused, and accused Ranjang of veiling under a pretended pilgrimage to Benares his intention to seek service with the Sikh ruler at Lahore. His Highness hinted at another turn of fortune's wheel, and so kept the Pandi faction in reserve for any occasion which might arise.

One of the first acts of the Brahman Prime Minister was to remodel the military organisation on which Bhim Sen had rested his power. The masses of troops hitherto concentrated in the capital were dispersed throughout the country. Large numbers were sent to strengthen the frontier garrisons; 3,000 infantry with artillery were marched off to stations in the interior. But military inno-

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu.* Tickell's Memorandum, para. 39.

[2] *Idem.*, para. 40. [3] *Idem.*

vations are apt to be unpopular, and the politic Brahman shifted to the shoulders of the Raja whatever odium might attach to the reform. He modestly presented himself as chief of the civil administration, while the King stood forth as its military head.

Meanwhile the national pride was flattered by missions to the Sikh Government at Lahore and to the Court of Persia. The army also was maintained at its overgrown strength of 19,000 men actually under arms, with twice that number of an effective reserve. Hodgson had to keep an anxious eye on the frontier now alive with 2,500 additional soldiers, chiefly old prætorians from the capital full of ignorant swagger and contempt for their British neighbours. In September 1837 he wrote to his father that the revolution in Nepal has "at last alarmed the British Government into alacrity and interest; and I find myself holding by general admission a highly important trust."

The year 1837 had proved one of incessant labour to the Resident. In March Hodgson wrote to Lady D'Oyly rejoicing in his good health, and hoping to be able to retire in 1841.[1] But his liver complaint returned with new aggravations in the autumn, and in a hurried letter to his father on December 1st, 1837, he says that it "has forced a sea-voyage on me. I shall go to the Cape with the D'Oylys who are bound for England, and I shall, I hope, be able to come back to my post here next cold weather." He made a will leaving to his father his valuable collections, or rather those which he had not already presented to learned and scientific societies. That was all he had to bequeath, except some small savings in cash to his children. "Alas, I have no money to speak of, and what I have, therefore, must go to my poor children, who will probably be kept in India to save you trouble and to better them as natives of this land." Amid his public cares and ill-health he finds consolation in his little ones.

[1] Letter to Lady D'Oyly dated March 5th, 1837.

"A bit of music or my boy's voice," he writes to Lady D'Oyly, "melts me to gentleness."

The ferment in Nepal did not, however, allow him the much-needed year of rest. Hodgson had to recover from his illness as best he could by a change to Calcutta, and then returned to his post. Next year, 1838, was one of palace intrigues. The Senior Queen violently supported the Pandis; their leader received the general command of the troops, while his brothers and relatives crowded into the highest offices around the person of the Raja and throughout the provinces. The Junior Queen less effectively urged the restoration of Bhim Sen who "continued at large" amid the plaudits of the soldiery, and was still allowed to present himself at Court.

In February the disputes of the two ladies flamed up beyond control upon the Senior Queen demanding the Prime-Ministership for her favourite Ranjang, the head of the Pandis. As the poor Raja shuffled according to his wont, "she furiously left the palace, declaring she would never return unless her will was obeyed, and repaired to Pushpali-nath, about three miles from the city, attended by Ranjang."[1] So completely did she dominate her feeble husband that, in spite of the scandal, "during her stay there the Court attended daily with the Raja himself on her. This," adds the official report in 1840, "is the first-mentioned of similar vagaries with which this headstrong woman has up to this day continued to be the torment of the whole Court."

Bhim Sen's gallant nephew Matabar, under pretext of a hunting party to catch elephants in the Tarai, slipped off to the holy city of Benares on the British plains, and thence to the Sikh capital in the Punjab. The Brahman Prime Minister began to spin a web of intrigue for the union of the two great Hindu powers on our northern frontier, the Nepalese and Sikhs, against us. Even the

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident.* Tickell's Memorandum, para. 42.

Raja plucked up spirit to declare that, "as the English and Musalmans have united, it was time for the Hindus to look to themselves." But another outburst of his wife's fury left him little leisure for distant diplomacy. No longer content with demanding the Prime-Ministership for her favourite Pandi, she began to plot for the deposition of the Raja, the placing of her young son on the throne and the expulsion of the British representative.

By July 1838 she would have forced the Raja's consent but for the Brahman Prime Minister's remonstrances. He pointed out that so disgraceful a surrender to the Pandis would alienate the army, and drive many of the chiefs to seek protection from the English. The Senior Queen again quitted the capital in a rage, declaring "that she would never return unless the throne was abdicated in favour of her son, and Ranjang made Prime Minister." The miserable Raja knew not whither to turn. The whole body of nobles held sulkily aloof from the henpecked husband; his Brahman Prime Minister resigned, and waited in religious retirement until the feminine tyranny should be overpast. The despised and deserted King sought for comfort in superstitious auguries. His timorous soul had long been accustomed to consult omens; indeed earthquakes and portents form a large part of the Court chronicle of his reign.[1] The impostors whom he now consulted foretold, probably on the prompting of the Queen, "fearful reverses, the downfall of Nepal, and the triumph of the English; and so effectually wrought on his fears as to compel him to quit the palace."[2] He at last got his wife back by appointing her favourite Pandi to the Prime-Ministership.

[1] See the very curious enumeration in Chapter IX. of the translation from the *Parbatiya* in Dr. Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 268-271 (Cambridge University Press, 1877).

[2] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident.* Tickell's Memorandum. I quote from my extracts from the original Secret Consultations in the India Office MS. Records.

Bhim Sen now saw that his only chance lay in the protection of the British. He unfolded to the Resident the conspiracy against our power, unaware that Hodgson had silently watched each mesh as it was being woven. In January 1838 three messengers disguised as religious mendicants brought a rumour to Nepal of a rupture between the British and the Court of Ava. Forthwith Nepal despatched an emissary to Burma, taking Sikkim and Assam by the way. As the year advanced, negotiations which the Nepalese believed to be profound secrets, but each move in which Hodgson recorded with an imperturbable face, were carried on with the great Native States of India, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Gwalior, Sindhia, Haidarabad, the Marathas and the Sikhs ; while communications were opened with China, Afghanistan, and Persia. Three thousand additional rounds of powder and cannon-shot were served out from the central arsenals to the garrisons along the British frontier of Nepal.

At length Bhim Sen "privately sent secret information to the Resident that the Darbar were prepared for hostilities in October, should the accounts received from Ava, Pekin, and Lahore be favourable by that time."[1] As rumours thickened of our being in trouble with Burma, Afghanistan, and Persia, the Darbar became impatient, "and the Raja was formally petitioned by a body of Chiefs in Council to expel the Resident at once—a proposition to which he tacitly listened."[2] The expulsion would probably be accompanied with massacre, and fears were felt in Calcutta lest the furious Queen's favourite, now become Prime Minister, might murder Hodgson and his staff to win popularity with the army, and to commit the King irrevocably to war.

Hodgson maintained an attitude of calm which almost seemed indifference, and kept up his polite intercourse with the Court as if nothing were happening which could not

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident, ut supra*, p. 81.
[2] *Idem.*

be adjusted in the ordinary course of diplomacy. On his remonstrance the King issued royal mandates in September recalling several of the secret emissaries to the Native States. At the same time he still more secretly sent forth new ones. His Highness even went so far as to address a complimentary letter to Lord Auckland "professing the most amiable views towards the British Government." Amid these courtly hypocrisies the unhealthy months slipped by during which Nepal might have struck her blow; and with the commencement of the cold weather came the news that a British force was ordered to assemble on the Nepal frontier.

Hodgson well knew how little was to be expected from this order. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, had asked him in the summer of 1838 for a confidential report on the military resources of Nepal[1] and her intrigues with the Indian feudatory States.[2] But he had also warned Hodgson that actual hostilities against Nepal must be deferred till the Afghan expedition was concluded.[3] In September Lord Auckland informed him that there was no present intention of dealing with Nepal further than by strengthening our line of communications on the Ganges.[4] Subsequent letters made this still more clear. But fortunately they were private ones. Hodgson kept his own counsel, but allowed the rumours of an assembling force to freely reach the Nepalese Court.

The opportunity for an attack on our frontier had for the time passed and the Nepalese Court changed its tone.

[1] Letters from John Russell Colvin, Private Secretary to Governor-General (marked "Private"), to B. H. Hodgson, dated Simla, June 14th, 1838. These and all other letters from Mr. J. R. Colvin are quoted from the MS. volumes kindly placed at my disposal by his son, Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.S.I.

[2] The same to the same, dated July 2nd, 1838.

[3] The same to the same, dated August 28th, 1838.

[4] The same to the same, dated September 28th, 1838. In the task of copying these Colvin letters, or of making excerpts, Mrs. Hodgson has given valuable aid.

The complaints by the British frontier magistrates which had accumulated throughout the year 1838 were inquired into; refugee criminals were given up; a just settlement was even volunteered by Nepal in regard to the Sikkim boundary. Hodgson's brave and skilful policy received its crowning triumph on November 28th, when "the Darbar sent a written promise to the Resident, insuring in future the administration of impartial justice to British subjects trading in Nepal." His absolute unconcern while his life lay at the mercy of any palace-prompted tumult, and the silent completeness with which he had outwitted their machinations, won the admiration of the Chiefs and at the same time tickled their Highland sense of humour. It also frightened the King. The Darbar now granted, as a pleasantry of the moment, the judicial rights to British subjects which Hodgson had failed to wring from it by years of laborious diplomacy.

Hodgson had meanwhile not only to calm the fears of his parents at home, but also to mourn the death of his last surviving brother the Horse Artillery Captain, and to find money to pay his debts and to send the young widow to England.

"My dear Parents," he wrote in an undated scrap of a letter, but which appears to belong to the Christmas season of 1838, "I steal a moment from official writing to tell you I am well, and that you need entertain no fears for me though war ensue with Nepal, as it probably will immediately. I have striven heartily and affectionately to save Nepal.... Oh that I had more health and strength to meet the crisis, but He will support me upon whom is my main reliance, even God Almighty. Love to Fanny and Ellen, and believe me ever your devotedly affectionate son. God ever bless you both and give you many happy returns of this season."

Captain William Hodgson died on June 12th, 1838. "In every requisite of a Horse Artillery officer," his colonel commandant had written in the previous year on

Lord Auckland's withdrawing Captain Hodgson to a staff appointment, "I know of few to equal, none to surpass him."[1] His transfer to the Horse Artillery and recent marriage had been a drain on Brian's purse: his death now left behind a legacy of money troubles. "I have been obliged," he writes to his father on August 12th, 1838, "to send Mary some money (Rs. 1,000), and I fear I shall be called on for more—not that I love money, but that I fear poverty and India on account of my health." This was only the commencement of fresh claims upon him. Among other items Brian became responsible for a loan of £1,000 borrowed by his brother. The widow begged him to repay himself in part from some money which came in; "but," adds Hodgson, "I have not the heart to take it."[2] I mention these matters, not because Hodgson attached importance to them, but because they enable us to understand the private worries which aggravated his ill-health, and made his public anxieties more difficult to bear.

The necessity of paying up the Rs. 50,000 towards his pension to enable him to retire at the end of his service began to haunt him. His full twenty-five years would expire in 1843, and his period of actual residence in 1841. He feared that his ailment would not allow him to go on working longer than the earlier date. Yet the constant demands on his purse by his parents and brothers had prevented him from laying by a sufficient sum to purchase his pension. "I must calculate on every *sous* beforehand," he wrote to his father early in 1839, "and know what I have to rest on. I am but in weakly health, and should retire as soon as my time is out."

The year 1838 closed with a full recognition by the British Government of the gravity of the situation in Nepal. The corps of observation to be assembled under Colonel Oglander on the frontier could not be got together

[1] Letter from Colonel Boileau, dated February 9th, 1837.
[2] Letter to his father, dated February 1st, 1839.

in an effective form,[1] as Lord Auckland was then engrossed with preparations for his Afghan war.[2] In September 1838 the Governor-General plainly said that it was not possible for him to do more than strengthen our troops along the line of the Ganges.[3]

Hodgson was informed, however, that in event of an outbreak the forces in our provinces bordering Nepal would be at his disposal. In a letter to his father, dated September 1838, he had written: "The Gurkhas are behaving as childishly as hostilely, and I fear I shall be unable to keep the peace, though I have now discretionary power over three divisions of the army, amounting to nearly 20,000 men, with which we are to make a *cordon sanitaire* to endure pending the absence of the Kabul force from India. I fear the cordon may be broken, despite my cares to preserve it; since it must be seven hundred miles long and liable to attack at any point by an active and enterprising enemy." Such a cordon, if it merits that name, might be useful to avenge his death, but was too far off to prevent a massacre. The truth is that the Afghan war proved as much as Lord Auckland could manage at one time, and the best he could hope for Nepal was that the Resident would keep things quiet till the storm in Afghanistan blew over.

This is precisely what Hodgson did during the four eventful years which followed, from the establishment of our forces in Afghanistan in 1839 till the annihilation of the Kabul garrison in 1842. But the inability of the Government to make an effective display of force, or even to maintain a firm attitude, seriously weakened his hands. He by no means mistook the momentary good-humour

[1] I make this statement on the authority of a marginal note by Hodgson on p. 314 of Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I. (1880).

[2] Lord Auckland decided to send a British force to Kabul in July 1838.—*John Russell Colvin*, by Sir Auckland Colvin, p. 116 (Clarendon Press, 1895).

[3] Letter from Lord Auckland's Private Secretary to B. H. Hodgson, dated Simla, September 28th, 1838.

of the Darbar towards the close of 1838 for a permanent amendment of its ways. "We have narrowly escaped a war with Nepal," he wrote to his father February 1st, 1839, "and now I see many symptoms that the escape was but temporary, and that unless our Governor-General make up his mind to more resolute remonstrance than heretofore, Gurkha presumption and duplicity will speedily enforce our taking up arms against Nepal."

The Nepalese Court had by this time discovered that our threatened demonstration on its frontier was only a threat —not to be realised while Lord Auckland had Afghanistan on his hands. Accordingly it began the year 1839 by "publishing prophecies predicting our downfall throughout the plains."[1] At home it got ready again for war. Throughout the year the arsenals and military workshops resounded with preparation. Sixty-four new cannon were cast, while by April two hundred cannon "of brass and leather" were under manufacture, and 800,000 pounds of powder with 100,000 round shot and 1,200,000 musket balls were ordered. Muskets were to be turned out at the rate of five a day. Two experienced captains were deputed to stockade the hills on the border, and a war-census was taken. It returned the population fit to bear arms—that is, from twelve to sixty years of age—at 400,000 persons.

All this was very popular with the chiefs, but Ranjang Pandi, who now made himself sole Minister with the help of the Senior Queen, found that it cost money. It was in vain that he retrenched the public expenditure. "The strictest parsimony" failed to yield the needful supplies. "As high in favour at Court as he was feared and detested by the people," he devised a scheme of resumptions,

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu to Government.* Tickell's Memorandum. For this year 1839 I quote invariably from the original MS. copy in the India Office, countersigned by Hodgson. As I follow its text closely, it is not needful to constantly refer to it in footnotes. It and the letters separately quoted are the authorities for all statements in the following pages dealing with this eventful year 1839.

forced benevolences, and forfeitures "falling little short of open robbery. He commenced operations by ostentatiously giving up to the State his own lands which he had held on rent-free tenure," and then called on the other chiefs to do likewise. All rent-free grants since the downfall of his father in 1802 were to be resumed. The chiefs were at the same time subjected to a system of money contributions; from a single one of them a forced loan of £30,000 was demanded. Fines also were "mercilessly levied on the most frivolous pretences for acts so long past as to have been almost forgotten." One noble family found itself suddenly called upon for £80,000, another for £20,000; while £2,500 were extorted from a poorer man on the plea of his having instigated a friend "to intercede for Bhim Sen and his family when in chains." "Soldiers were scattered over the country enforcing these exactions," and the acclamations of the new Prime Minister's war promises speedily turned into an outcry against the extortions of his war finance.

Ranjang Pandi tried to stem the public hatred by clutching more strenuously at the supreme power. The leader of the Brahman party was compelled to give up his last pretence of joint authority, and to retire in real earnest to his devotions. The King's collaterals had indignantly declared "that they who are of the royal race will not be subjected to any one but the Raja, and that to obey a Khas (Ranjang's tribe) is intolerable degradation."[1] Ranjang retorted by calling them "royal menials," who have no title to discharge the noble duties of war and of politics.[2] He elected, in fact, to trust solely to his influence over the Senior Queen, and disdained alike the wrath of the chiefs and the detestation of the people. The poor King, with his usual feeble craft, thought that he himself might perhaps come to the top in the turmoil. So he kept

[1] Letter from B. H. Hodgson to the Officiating Secretary with the Governor-General, dated April 14th, 1839.—*India Office MSS.*

[2] *Idem.*

Ranjang in suspense as to his formal confirmation in the Prime-Ministership, while allowing him to discharge its duties and to bear its odium.

Ranjang's ministry was one of spoliation, and the chiefs, as Bhim Sen had predicted, began to turn their eyes to the British. The following paragraphs in a secret despatch from Hodgson to Herbert Maddock,[1] who had preceded him as Resident in Nepal and was now the Secretary to Government in attendance on the Governor-General, shows the gradual development of the drama, then drawing to its bloody close.

"Even now, though Ranjang is not yet confirmed in the Premiership, and perhaps may not, after all, be so, yet under his predominate secret influence many severities are inflicted and more apprehended, and the great body of the Chiefs is extremely disgusted and discontented. The Senior Rani's irregular and violent ambition is said to find a ready tool in Ranjang for the accomplishment of her particular purposes, on condition she prove herself (as she professes to be) equally pliant in regard to his particular ends. She wants the Raja to resign in favour of her son; Ranjang wants revenge on his numerous enemies; and the Raja, though he dreads with reason both the one and the other, and thus continues to withhold the [confirmation in the] Premiership from Ranjang, yet gradually gives way to his imperious spouse, seduced by extravagant promises of the mighty things which Ranjang is to achieve against the Company, when once he has the complete direction of affairs. Meanwhile every step he makes to power is marked by actual or threatened retaliation and severity at home, and by secret instigations of every species of covert hostility abroad.

"He appears not in any matter, but he really guides all through the Senior Rani, and he it is who so often marred the Raja's better purpose when his Highness was ready to lay aside severities at home and intrigues on the plains.

[1] Dated Nepal Residency, April 14th, 1839.

"All persons of mark now look to the Company's Government, and earnestly hope that the Governor-General will ere long be led to address the Raja in such terms as may frighten him into justice at home and abroad, and redeem him from the toils of the Rani and [Ranjang] Pandi, whose unjust and irregular ambition threatens equal mischief to the State in its domestic and in its foreign relations.

"Several times the Raja has been made to hesitate and draw back from his meditated injustice. . . . The Junior Rani dreads that her children will be sacrificed to the jealousy of the Senior Rani, their eyes being put out or their lives made away with by foul practices, and she is meditating some possible means of appeal to the Resident.

"The Court physicians have destroyed themselves because banishment proved no protection to them, and they were loaded with irons and otherwise oppressed after they had been again spared and even sent to their destination. The Court has therefore the blood of these Brahmans upon its head, and all persons anticipate misfortunes to the kingdom therefrom. Bhim Sen's brother has turned *fakir* to escape from perpetually renewed alarms, and Bhim Sen considers himself safe only because his nephew Matabar is beyond the Darbar's power, and would join the English and open the way to their armies to Kathmandu if Bhim Sen were presently made away with. The Darbar earnestly desires to get back Matabar Singh and also Ranudat Sah to Nepal, and the Governor-General should take good care that neither of them yet returns, for whilst they are below, the Darbar will never dare to come to extremities with the Company.

"The Raja's temper is spoilt and soured, so that the most respectable chiefs are repeatedly subjected to coarse abuse or to actual or threatened extortions, upon pretence of bribery and malversation in office under the long administration of the Thappas. Meanwhile secret intrigues with the plains with a view to excite discontent among

the Company's subjects and conspiracy amongst its dependent allies are going on as actively as ever.

"There are now at Kathmandu secret envoys from all the following States: Gwalior, Satara, Baroda, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotah, Bundi, Rewa, Panna, and the Punjab (Dhyan Singh); and the intercourse thus set afoot the Darbar is determined to maintain. Meanwhile, partly from dread of the consequences of such perverseness and partly in order to be ready fully to meet the expected opportunity of open rupture, hostile preparations of all sorts continue to be actively made.

"Between fear and hate the Darbar suffers not itself to have a moment's rest, but so little is it governed by prudence in its proceedings that, at the very moment when it would fain break with the Company, it scruples not to misuse and alarm in an extreme degree the great majority of those Chiefs who alone could second its wishes in the event of war. A rash and violent woman aiming at uncontrolled sway governs the Darbar, and all men of experience anticipate the worst that can happen unless renewed dread of the Company should speedily recall the Raja to safer counsels and more resolution in abiding by them. I have, etc.

"B. H. HODGSON, Resident."

Ranjang Pandi perfectly understood the situation. A coalition of the Chiefs led by Bhim Sen, and enjoying the goodwill of the British Resident, would frighten the feeble Raja into a spasm of independence which might sweep the Pandi faction out of Nepal. Ranjang did not yet dare to attack the British Resident. He also feared to murder Bhim Sen lest the gallant Matabar, who was now safe at the Sikh Court, should return on the flood-tide of popular indignation and avenge his uncle's death. "To get rid of this stumbling-block it was reported[1] about this

[1] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu* for 1839, *ut supra*. India Office MS. Secret Consultations.

time that the Darbar had hired secret agents to poison Matabar Singh, who were shortly to set out with that intent to the Punjab."

At the same moment a fresh charge of poisoning was trumped up against Bhim Sen in the palace. The Court physician was instigated, under threats of torture, to implicate the ex-minister in an imaginary attempt to poison the Senior Queen—an attempt alleged to have taken place six months before! The aged Bhim Sen, "in whose favour none dared now to lift a voice, was reduced to the most abject and affecting appeals to the Resident." But the Raja still hesitated to take the plunge into the infamy of a judicial murder of the old Minister. The King, accompanied by one of the royal collaterals who was for a time joint Prime Minister with Ranjang, came in person to the Residency and laid the accusation before Hodgson. The Resident calmly but firmly pointed out the insufficiency of the evidence, "and with a view to the physician's life being spared, recommended his banishment from the city, as securing future peace within the palace." Even this failed to satisfy the furious Senior Queen and her favourite Pandi. The Court physicians committed suicide to escape torture. The younger Queen, as we have heard, went in hourly dread for her children's lives; and Bhim Sen's brother[1] sought safety under the garb of a wandering religious mendicant.

The first batch of victims were already in their graves, but their kindred remained. "The family and relations, male and female, of the physician who was crucified last year were seized; five had their noses cut off, and eleven, after being tortured in hopes of extorting confessions criminating certain chiefs, were given to perpetual slavery as outcasts."[2] Two of the Court physicians who had not

[1] Ranbir Singh, who had only a few years ago been intriguing against his elder brother for the Prime-Ministership.

[2] These and all other quotations without a separate reference are from the *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident*, as before mentioned.

killed themselves were horribly mutilated. One of them, "a Brahman and whose life was therefore sacred, was burned on the forehead and cheeks till his brain and jaws were exposed."[1] The other was impaled alive, and his heart torn out while he was still living. The Prince looked on as these horrors were perpetrated, but no word could be wrung out of the victims to incriminate Bhim Sen. The Senior Queen "almost publicly avowed her determination to procure the Raja's abdication in favour of her eldest son." Every effort was made to lure back Matabar Singh to Nepal (the secret emissaries having failed to poison him), in order that "both he and Bhim Sen might be decapitated."

The last scene in the tragedy opened with a new set of accusations against Bhim Sen—accusations to which his persecutors no longer took the trouble to give even a show of probability. He was first charged with poisoning the widow of the Raja who died as far back as 1816, then with poisoning that long-deceased Raja himself. "The old man thus beset," says the official narrative,[2] "courageously defended himself, demanding why, if such charges had been really made, they had not been produced against him on his first arrest in 1837; denounced the papers as forgeries, and called for confrontation with his accusers. But his defence and his appeals were alike unheeded; not a voice was raised in his behalf throughout the Darbar. The Chiefs sat by in dejected silence, and the Raja giving way to, or feigning, a burst of indignation, denounced him as a traitor and had him hurried off in chains to a prison.

"It is needless to trace further his cruel persecutions. Like a convicted felon, he lingered in his dungeon during his few remaining days; his ears were assailed from day to day with threats of renewed torments—with being

[1] Oldfield, Vol. I., p. 316 (Ed. 1880), apparently writing from local records which have not come under my notice in the Secret Consultations preserved at the India Office.

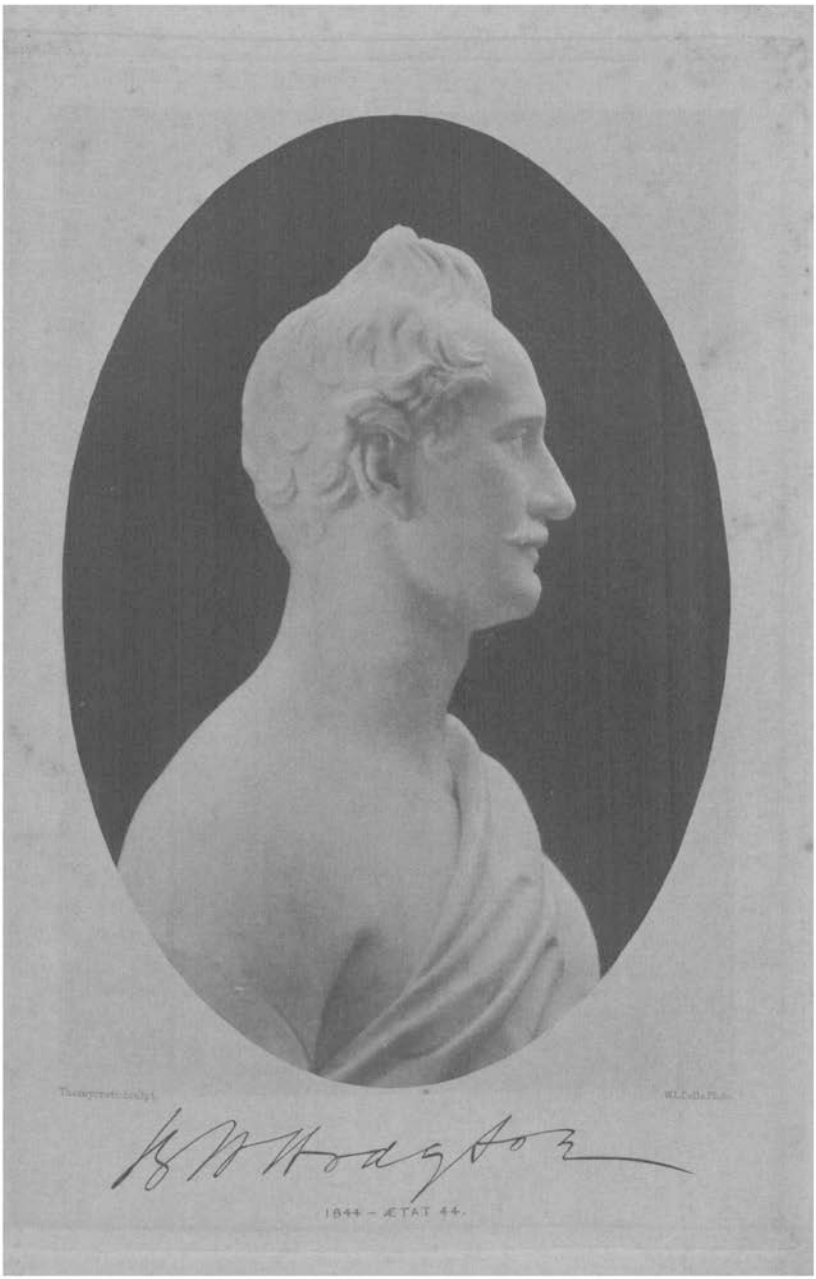
[2] *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu, ut supra.*

exposed plunged up to the neck in a heap of human ordure and filth, with having his wife paraded naked through the city—till, totally worn out by accumulated torments, the wretched man anticipated further malice by committing suicide. On July 20th he inflicted a wound in his throat, with a *kukri*, of which he died nine days after. His corpse was refused funeral rites, but dismembered and exposed about the city, after which the mangled remains were thrown away on the river-side, where none but the dog and vulture dared further heed them."

No sooner was the outrage complete than the terror-stricken Raja hastened to excuse himself to the Resident. Hodgson listened, then coldly replied "that the whole of the transaction was foreign to the duties of my station, and that I could only express my acknowledgments for the official communication made to me by the Darbar."[1] But he laid a full account of the proceedings before the Governor-General. "Thus has perished," he concludes in words not unsuited to the tragical moment, "the great and able statesman who for more than thirty years had ruled this kingdom with more than regal sway, just two years after his sudden fall from power in 1837—prior to which event the uniform success of nearly all his measures had been no less remarkable than the energy and sagacity which so much promoted that success. He was indeed a man born to exercise dominion over his fellows alike by the means of command and of persuasion. Nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times, except Ranjit Singh, who is, all things considered, worthy to be compared with the late General Bhim Sen of Nepal."[2]

[1] Report from the Resident to the Deputy Secretary with the Governor-General, dated July 30th, 1839, para. 4.—*India Office MSS.*

[2] *Idem.*, para. 6.



1844 - ÆTAT 44.

CHAPTER IX.

LAST FOUR YEARS OF RESIDENTSHIP IN NEPAL.

1839—1843.

THE Queen and her favourite Pandi now breathed more freely. But they felt that, as long as a British Resident watched their proceedings, the game of hostility to the British Government was a dangerous one. They vented their wrath on the kindred of the dead Prime Minister, declared his whole clan incapable of holding any State employment for seven generations, and drove forth his relatives, who had already been banished to the mountains, still farther into the snows. All grants of lands made by him or by the late Queen-Regent from 1804 onwards were confiscated, and their holders, many of whom had received them as payment for public services, were without mercy turned adrift.

Hodgson's air of indifference to the intrigues against the Residency, intrigues which the Queen knew he was well informed of, nonplussed her. She thought he must certainly have some power of destruction in reserve. His health improved and his spirits rose as he realised that Lord Auckland was too busy with Afghanistan to spare any force for Nepal, and that the Resident must depend entirely on his own courage and resource. They "are ready to break forth," he wrote to his father in July 1839, "or at least to break the treaty and expel the envoy, *i.e.* myself. There is great pleasure to me in the excitement and in the responsibility, and now Government readily admits that I was a prophet when I long ago told Lord Bentinck to beware of the future, assuring him that what

he then called a sinecure would by-and-by come to be considered the most important diplomatic office in India. So it has proved. My health is pretty good, and I am ever mindful of you all."

The Governor-General saw clearly that the death of Bhim Sen left the war party supreme in Nepal, but he could only take notice of it in empty words. There is indeed a feeble magniloquence about Lord Auckland's reply which the presence of his Afghan complications can alone excuse. "I am directed to state," wrote his secretary,[1] "that the measures of indignity, insult, and cruelty which the Government of Nepal has adopted towards the late and able Minister of that State, have been viewed by the Governor-General with feelings of extreme disgust and abhorrence. They pourtray a spirit of vindictive hatred towards the late General Bhim Sen, venting itself on its unfortunate victim by outrages so atrocious and unmanly as to lead to the belief that the moral feeling of the Court has been much vitiated since the deposition of Bhim Sen, and that, under the present system and the present Government, the manners of the people will rapidly sink into a state of barbarity from which they were being gradually weaned by a long course of pacific rule, under an able and comparatively enlightened administration."

Hodgson did what he could with this weak-kneed backing. He made the Raja understand the danger to his dynasty which the resentment of the Governor-General implied. The poor Prince again drew away from the war party. In the summer of 1839 he had begun "to talk of the fate of the Company being in his hands,"[2] and had been interdicted by the Queen from intercourse with the Residency. Before autumn was over Hodgson brought

[1] Letter from T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Resident in Nepal, dated Simla, August 15th, 1839.—*India Office MSS.*

[2] *Excerpts from Letters of the Resident.* Tickell's Memorandum, *ut supra.* Secret Consultations, India Office MSS.

him to reason, dexterously using the Raja's necessity for finding a wife or wives from India for the heir-apparent. This plea had enabled the Nepalese Darbar to send its emissaries to the Native Courts throughout Northern India "under the old pretence of seeking for brides."[1] The age of the heir-apparent now rendered it a necessity in sober earnest, and Hodgson politely informed the Raja that his envoys would receive passports through the British provinces only if he acted justly by the British-Indian traders in Nepal.

The negotiations dragged themselves on through various phases of duplicity, but by October 1839 Hodgson had once more checkmated the war party left rampant by Bhim Sen's death in July. He wrote to Mr. Thoby Prinsep on October 18th, 1839, that he had for the present stopped Nepal in her perilous course.[2] "I have been debating with her for three months to exact from her an honest and practical atonement in place of the dishonest and idle phrases and compliments with which she sought to cover the past and to shift for the future. She offered me, at the beginning of that period, a Kharita (or letter) for the Governor-General full of all excellent discourse, rounded off with a tender of her troops to us to fight beyond the Indus and elsewhere. She conceived, or rather proposed and wished, that this magnificent piece of humbug should procure her a pardon for all ill-deeds and schemes of the last two years, besides obtaining present leave for her to send a gorgeous and numerous mission through the Rajput States under pretence of marriage, but really to bravado away the shame of her ejection from those parts eighteen months ago, and to come to some sort of understanding with their rulers.

[1] *Idem.*

[2] In this and in other letters I give only the paragraphs directly bearing on the political situation. Henry Thoby Prinsep was then Officiating Secretary to the Government of India in the Secret and Political Department.

"I was obliged to be wary at first and to temporise. But gradually I have grown bolder, and I have at last compelled the Darbar to admit, by the silent abandonment of it, that this mission to the Rajputs was a fraud; whilst I have refused either to forward the Kharita to the Governor-General or even to let a real marriage mission go to the districts on this side the Ganges, until the Darbar has, verily and in deed, done me right and justice in those several special instances wherein she has admitted my claim and pledged herself to redress over and over again.

"These reforms I have now, I think, nearly carried, after such delays and evasions and tricks to tire patience as I never saw nor dreamt of before. I have been on the verge of success apparently twenty times during the debate, when the Darbar has gone off again at a tangent.

"The points I have gained from the Darbar are of some value, and if the greater politics of India go well for some time to come, I may be able to keep the Darbar to the new course which those points will define for her. But at present she consents and signs with the worst will to the work, and she will bolt if temptation again arise. Yours ever,

"B. H. HODGSON."

The agreement which Hodgson thus wrung from Nepal in the teeth of the war party now forms No. LVI. of Sir Charles Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*. It bears date November 6th, 1839, and the translation runs as follows: "According to your (*i.e.* the Resident's) request and for the purpose of perpetuating the friendship of the two States, as well as to promote the effectual discharge of current business, the following items are fixed: 1st. All secret intrigues whatever, by messengers or letters, shall totally cease. 2nd. The Nepal Government engages to have no further intercourse with the dependent allies of the Company beyond the Ganges, who are by treaty precluded from such intercourse, except with the Resident's

sanction and under his passports. 3rd. With the land-holders and men of position on this side of the Ganges, who are connected by marriage with the royal family of Nepal, intercourse of letters and persons shall remain open to the Nepal Government as heretofore. 4th. It is agreed to, as a rule for the guidance of both Governments, that in judicial matters, where civil causes arise, there they shall be heard and decided; and the Nepal Government engages that for the future British subjects shall not be compelled to plead in the Courts of Nepal to civil actions having exclusive reference to their dealings in the plains. 5th. The Nepal Government engages that British subjects shall hereafter be regarded as her own subjects in regard to access to the Courts of Law, and that the causes of the former shall be heard and decided without denial or delay, according to the usages of Nepal. 6th. The Nepal Government engages that an authentic statement of all duties leviable in Nepal shall be delivered to the Resident, and that hereafter unauthorised imposts not entered in this list shall not be levied on British subjects."

For the moment the war party in Nepal was cowed. Hodgson permitted the complimentary letter to the Governor-General to be despatched along with the treaty, and the Court even begged to be allowed to send an equally complimentary mission to wait on his Excellency—with the most violent of the war party at its head! Suddenly, on a rumour that Lord Auckland had been recalled for harshness towards the Amir of Afghanistan,[1] the projected mission was dropped "in a manner wantonly disrespectful towards his Lordship."[2] When the rumour turned out to be false the proposal was ostentatiously revived in the hope that the Nepalese envoy "would be able by a personal interview with the Governor-General to obtain his Lordship's sanction to the numerous deputations which Nepal

[1] Dost Muhammad.

[2] Secret Letter from the Resident to the Secretary with the Governor-General, dated November 25th, 1839.

wished to send forth all over India, under pretext of the heir-apparent's approaching marriage, to select brides or to issue invitations for the ceremony."[1]

Hodgson's letters at this period disclose a hopelessness of keeping the Nepalese Court to any engagements whatever, but also a resolve to constantly occupy its attention with minor matters until Lord Auckland should be set free from Afghanistan to deal seriously with the situation in Nepal. The violence of the war party helped Hodgson's design. For it established such a reign of terror inside the palace and throughout the country that the Raja's family as well as the chiefs began to look to the Residency as their one source of security. The Senior Queen and her favourite Pandi, carried their persecution of the Junior Queen so far as to accuse her of criminal conversation with a captain in the Gurkha army. The Raja saw the malevolence of the charge, and it fell to the ground. Presently they renewed the attack by an accusation "of misprision of treason." This, although also foiled, threw the younger Queen "into the greatest distress and fear for her life and children, and induced her to appeal secretly to the Resident to procure for her the protection of the British Government."[2]

The year 1840 thus opened with the war party again supreme in Nepal, headed by the Senior Queen and her favourite Pandi, but with the Court in the meshes of its late engagements to Hodgson, and with the Junior Queen and the royal collaterals looking for support to the Residency. The Governor-General, notwithstanding his entanglements in Afghanistan, began to feel that a war with Nepal could not much longer be staved off. On

[1] *Excerpts from Letters of the Resident, ut supra.*

[2] *Excerpts from Letters of the Resident at Kathmandu.* Tickell's Memorandum, *ut supra.* In making my final reference to these "Excerpts," which conclude with the year 1839, I beg to express my obligation to Mr. H. W. Garrett, of the Political Department, India Office, under whose supervision copies were made for me from the Secret Consultations (MSS.).

January 9th, 1840, his Private Secretary wrote strongly to Hodgson about "the idle vapourings and futile intrigues by which the Nepal Darbar has been bringing upon itself present ridicule and laying the seeds of its future punishment."[1] Hodgson meanwhile occupied the Nepalese Government with perpetual discussions about carrying out its agreement to deliver up Thugs and the bandit-leaders sheltered within its frontier, and he procured the issue of stringent orders for their surrender. The truth is that the Queen and her favourite were preparing their grand *coup*, and were as anxious to gain time as Hodgson himself.

Meanwhile they laboured to render the British Government odious in every way to the chiefs and people. They first tried to draw Hodgson into a palace scandal. On May 5th, 1840, the marriage of the heir-apparent simultaneously to two ladies was celebrated. Shortly after the ceremony the British Resident was summoned to a private interview with the Senior Queen and the Raja. The Queen declared with affected consternation that certain ill-omened marks had been discovered on the bodies of the brides, and that the marriages must at once be dissolved. Hodgson carefully abstained from giving any opinion, for he knew it was certain to be misrepresented. The Queen, indeed, had got up the story partly to entrap the Resident, partly as a move in her policy of keeping the King in perpetual distresses in order to disgust him with the cares of royalty, and to induce his resignation in favour of her son with herself as regent. Foiled by Hodgson's reticence, she presently discovered that the marks were only temporary and of no significance.

She next tried to win popular favour by a romantic outrage upon the British frontier. On April 12th, 1840, half a hundred Gurkha braves suddenly appeared at the great fair held in Ramnagar Forest, eight miles within

[1] J. R. Colvin to B. H. Hodgson, dated Camp beyond Dholpur, January 9th, 1840.—Vol. VIII., p. 217, of the Auckland MSS.

our provinces. After forcibly levying the bazaar dues, they established their permanent headquarters in the neighbourhood, called on the inhabitants of ninety-one British villages to come in, and told them that their territories were henceforth part of Nepal, to whose Government alone the revenues must be paid. They then stationed Gurkha soldiers in each of the villages thus seized, and threatened to deport to Nepal for punishment any local official who dared to convey information of the transaction to the British authorities. "In fact a large tract of country, eight or nine miles broad, by twenty or twenty-five in length [say 200 square miles], had been entirely cut off from the British dominions."[1]

Hodgson promptly demanded the withdrawal of the Gurkha soldiers, the punishment of the authors of the aggression, compensation to the villagers, and an ample apology to our Government. But the Queen and her favourite Pandi, being now almost ready to strike their long-meditated blow, protracted the negotiations and meanwhile denied redress. As Hodgson had no force behind him, he had to keep his temper and do what he could by remonstrances. The Queen and her favourite, elated by impunity, resolved to at once raise a war-fund by cutting down the pay of the troops, pretending that the reduction was being carried out by the Raja under orders from the British Government. Having thus prepared the way, they awaited with calmness the military rising which they knew would follow, and hoped that in the confusion the Raja would be deposed and the Residency burnt to the ground.

They had not to wait long. Early on the morning of June 21st, 1840, the Nepalese army at the capital, 6,000 strong, broke into revolt at a general parade, at which the reduction of their pay was to be officially

[1] Narrative of events in Nepal in 1840, prepared by Lieutenant C. H. Nicholetts, Assistant Resident, dated September 30th, 1853, para. 7.—*India Office Records.*

announced. On the preceding evening the Queen cleverly secured the persons of the British Resident and his staff. "I was called," writes Hodgson in a private note, "to the Darbar ostensibly for a mere formal visit. I went as usual with the gentlemen of the Residency at 7 p.m. At 10 o'clock I rose to go, but the Raja begged me to stay awhile, and so again at 11 o'clock, and again I think at midnight. Still something was always urged by the Court to keep us, and though no adequate cause was assigned, I assented in order if possible to discover the real cause of our detention. I felt there *was* some cause, and possibly a serious one, as I whispered to Dr. Campbell,[1] and I wanted to fathom the mystery.

"Soon after midnight, at a sign from one of the Raja's attendants, his Highness asked me to go to the Queen's apartments. I went. Her Highness received me with scant civility, and presently grew angry and offensive with reference to business. I replied at first seriously," and then passed to compliments ending in a jest. "This made her laugh, and under cover of the momentary good-humour the Raja carried me off, apparently only too happy to have thus easily got me through an interview demanded by his virago of a wife, who was the prime mover in all the mischief then brewing. It was daylight when I and the gentlemen left the palace, and shortly after came rumours of an uproar in the Nepal cantonments. It was reported to me that the troops at the capital were in a mutinous state, and were threatening mischief to the Residency, they having been told that the Resident had been all night insisting on a reduction of the Gurkha army by instructions from his Government.

"Ere long the report of the mutiny was confirmed by the appearance of a large body of soldiers in arms moving on the Residency. Arrived at an open space two hundred yards from the embassy-house, the troops called a halt and held a palaver. The men objected to perpetrate so

[1] The Residency Surgeon and Honorary Assistant Resident.

cowardly an act as the destruction of the Resident, 'he being a good gentleman long known to them, and always kind and courteous to them and their families.' The palaver ended in a deputation of a select body of them to the Darbar to say that, if they were to do such a deed, they must have a *Lal-mohar* (a formal order under the royal seal) to that effect."

Hodgson contrived to inform the Raja that the object of the strange detention of himself and staff during the night had been seen through, and that measures were already taken to secure vengeance, if needful, for their deaths. The Queen, believing her arrangements for a rising complete, withdrew in the early morning from the capital, so that, whatever happened, the Raja would have to bear the consequences alone. "Just as the deputies of the soldiers reached the palace and made their statement, the Resident's Head Munshi arrived there and acquainted the Darbar that the pretence of mutiny to cover violence was transparent, that intelligence to that effect had been transmitted to the Governor-General by two different channels, and that the messengers had already got clear off towards the plains. The effect of this double move by the soldiers and by the Resident was to put a quiet extinguisher on a ruse of the Darbar which might easily have resulted in a scene of bloodshed, *furens quid femina possit* being an old truth."[1]

Meanwhile horrors were taking place in the city which prove that, throughout that night and forenoon, the lives of the British officers had hung by a thread. Hodgson's easy good-humour with the Queen probably saved himself and his staff from murder in the palace or at the moment of quitting it. His calmness next morning in resting his safety on his character as ambassador, and disdaining any contemptible show of self-defence, certainly saved the Residency from the troops. If a single shot had been fired from the Residency walls, the mutineers would not

[1] Private note written by Mr. Hodgson, without date.

have halted but would have carried the gate with a rush. Hodgson kept his escort of two hundred men perfectly quiet, he kept his officers perfectly quiet, he swiftly took measures for acquainting his Government with the facts, and then he threw the responsibility for his safety as an ambassador upon the Raja and his Ministers. If we admire the gallantry, or even the gallant futility, with which Indian envoys have defended themselves by paltry escorts to the last living man, we must yield a yet higher respect to the unmoved civil courage with which Hodgson faced the storm and weathered it.

For meanwhile the mutinous troops had sacked the palace of the royal collateral who posed as nominal Prime Minister, gutted the houses of five other chiefs, members of the Ministry, and loudly demanded that the Raja should himself come forth and redress their grievances. Next day, the 22nd, the Raja summoned up courage to harangue them; and the troops, with the habitual loyalty to the person of their sovereign so characteristic of the Gurkhas, ceased from further outrages. But the excitement continued in their quarters, and on June 23rd, 1840, the following message was conveyed to the army from the Raja and his Senior Queen:—[1]

"The English Government is powerful, abounding in wealth and in all other resources for war. I have kept well with the English so long, because I am unable to cope with them. Besides, I am bound by a treaty of amity, and have now no excuse to break it; nor have I money to support a war. Troops I have, and arms and ammunition in plenty, but no money. This is the reason why I have reduced your pay. I want treasure to fight the English. Take lower pay for a year or two, and when I have some money in hand, then I will throw off the mask and indulge you in war."

To this the troops replied by their deputies at a parade

[1] I reproduce this frank proclamation and the reply of the troops from Oldfield, Vol. I., pp. 318, 319. Ed. 1880.

which the Maharaja attended in person. "True the English Government is great; but care the wild dogs of Nepal how large is the herd they attack? They are sure to get their bellies filled. You want no money for making war; for the war shall support itself. We will plunder Lucknow and Patna. But first we must get rid of the Resident, who sees and forestalls all. We must be able, unseen, to watch the moment of attack. It will soon come; it is come. Give the word and we will destroy the Resident," "and we will soon make the Ganges your boundary. Or if the English, as they say, are your friends and want peace, why do they keep possession of half your dominions? Let them restore Kumaun and Sikkim. These are yours; demand them back; and if they refuse, drive out the Resident, and let us have war." [1]

The Raja asked time for deliberation. But the secret hopes of the Queen that the Residency would be sacked in the tumult had been disappointed, and she hesitated to officially authorise the outrage. The grievances of the army were accordingly redressed, and the reduction of pay was not insisted on. She contented herself with having placards posted outside the palace exaggerating our difficulties and reverses in Afghanistan. The arsenals and gun factories were kept in full activity; the military spirit was fanned throughout the country by the old device of a war-census, which returned the fighting population at 400,000 men.[2]

Lord Auckland had awakened to the fact that, whatever his embarrassments in Afghanistan, the situation in Nepal brooked no further delay. He instructed his Private Secretary to write at once to Hodgson that there would be no hesitation as to moving troops to the Nepal frontier if necessary.[3] He also forwarded a public despatch, "with

[1] Oldfield, Vol. I., pp. 318, 319. Ed. 1880.

[2] *Idem.*, p. 321.

[3] J. R. Colvin to Brian Hodgson, dated July 18th, 1840.—Vol. XI. of the Auckland MSS., p. 252.

regard to the forcible occupation of our territory at Ramnagar" (the ninety-one villages). He instructed Hodgson to intimate to the Nepal Darbar "that your Government has viewed the continued usurpation of British territory with extreme displeasure," and to demand immediate redress. Hodgson was to declare "that the Government of India will speedily feel itself compelled, if such satisfaction be not fully afforded, to march its troops to the frontier to vindicate its honour, and to relieve its subjects from the intolerable violence to which they are exposed."[1]

Armed with the knowledge that his threats would be backed by troops "if necessary," Hodgson took up so strong an attitude as to obtain the redress without the actual employment of force. Ample satisfaction was obtained for the seizure of the ninety-one villages and tract of two hundred square miles within our frontier, and the money-compensation for the villages was deposited in the Residency treasury.[2] A series of direct representations were also forced on the Raja which convinced him that the safety of his dynasty depended on the dismissal of the Queen's favourite Pandi from the Ministry. "The Governor-General in Council in reviewing these transactions," Lord Auckland wrote to Hodgson,[3] "has to thank you for the marked ability, firmness, and judgment with which you have met a long course of adverse and evasive negotiation on the part of the Nepal Government, and he begs you to accept his cordial acknowledgment of your service on the occasion."

Lord Auckland, in the stern mood brought on by the peril of the Residency on July 21st, 1840, had asked Hodgson to advise him whether the object of the antici-

[1] Quoted from the draft despatch enclosed in the Private Secretary's letter just referred to.

[2] From Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, dated October 26th, 1840, para. 5, to the Resident at Kathmandu.

[3] Despatch from the Government of India to the Resident, dated October 20th, 1840, para. 9.—Hodgson Private Papers.

pated war with Nepal "shall be the entire subjugation of the country, or the raising up of another Gurkha Government or administration"[1] on terms favourable to our interests. Hodgson leaned to mercy, and he soon found that Lord Auckland's entanglements in Afghanistan rendered it impossible to spare a force for Nepal in any respect equal to "the entire subjugation of the country." Early in October 1840 he was, with compliments on his "ability and temperate perseverance," warned that troops were not then available, and that "when they may be moved into camp is uncertain."[2] Later in the month this warning was officially repeated.[3] Hodgson was again made to realise that he must still depend on himself. He accordingly directed all his efforts to accomplish the change of Ministry by negotiations, and to secure by peaceful means what Lord Auckland had in August only hoped to obtain by a war.

Throughout the whole year he wrote home in high spirits and with a perfect confidence in his own resources. "Don't be alarmed," he reassured his father—"don't be alarmed at the stuff you see in the papers as to my situation here." "I hope Brian does not make too light of his situation," is his father's docket on this letter, "but I wish he was well out of it." "Our Government," Hodgson goes on to explain, "wants to get rid of 'other affairs' before it takes Nepal in hand; and 'other affairs' have arisen successively fresh and fresh during the last three years, while Nepal's insolence has thus been stimulated. All our temporary devices have been used up, so that the Gurkhas are now 'laughing in our beards.' They are very insolent and faithless, experimenting perpetually on the limits of

[1] Letter from the Private Secretary (J. R. Colvin), dated August 28th, 1840, to B. H. Hodgson.—Auckland MSS., Vol. XIII.

[2] The same to the same, dated October 10th, 1840.—Auckland MSS., Vol. XIII.

[3] Secretary to Government of India, dated October 26th, 1840, para. 12, to the Resident at Kathmandu.

our forbearance without open war."[1] "My health is pretty good, and I am prudent and careful of it for your sakes, feeding and drinking like a hermit, and casting research and mental labour aside, as soon as my office duties are discharged."[2]

By the end of October Lord Auckland said plainly that an expedition against Nepal was for that year impossible. He applauded Hodgson's efforts to obtain by diplomacy the change of Ministry which he had anticipated as the result of a war. At the beginning of November he officially authorised the Resident "to promote to the utmost degree, consistent with prudence, the object of procuring the removal of the present Ministers of Nepal, and the appointment of a friendly and honest administration in their place."[3]

The day before this despatch was written in Calcutta Hodgson had secured the desired result at Kathmandu, and a change in the Nepalese Ministry had been quietly carried out. On November 1st, 1840, the Queen's favourite Pandi was dismissed, and one of the royal collaterals "was nominated to the Premiership."[4] This meant the public abandonment of the war party by the Raja, and congratulations poured in upon the Resident. "I congratulate you," wrote Mr. Thoby Prinsep, now a member of the Governor-General's Council, "on the issues of your late troublesome negotiations. They are all you could wish, and will gain you great and justly earned credit here and in Europe." Colonel Caulfield, the Resident at Lucknow, and as such the British representative nearest to the Nepalese frontier, expressed a soldier's hearty admiration. "You have been placed in a situation very delicate and trying, and you have done your work with wisdom, nerve,

[1] Letter to his father, dated May 20th, 1840.

[2] To the same, dated July 8th, 1840.

[3] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India (confidential), dated November 2nd, 1840.

[4] Narrative of events in Nepal, *sub anno* 1840, by Lieutenant Nicholetts, Assistant Resident, para. 13.—*India Office Records.*

and promptitude, meriting the approbation of Government and the encomiums of all."[1] "I congratulate you on your important successes at Kathmandu," wrote the Secretary to the supreme Government. "The credit will stick to you in Indian history."[2]

It was felt, indeed, that Hodgson had single-handed saved the necessity of a war at a time when war would have been an impossibility for the British Government. His skilful diplomacy was compared with the miserable entanglements into which we were being enmeshed in Afghanistan. "We entirely concur," wrote the Court of Directors to the Governor-General, "in the praises which you have bestowed on Mr. Hodgson."[3] He had performed his difficult task without even a show of force. "Actual military operations," the Governor-General's Private Secretary wrote to him at the beginning of December, "cannot be thought of for this season, and you will remark that any violence or injury to you will be the greatest possible embarrassment to your Government!"[4]

"The military demonstration," as that Government had truly called it,[5] turned out to be only a demonstration. It consisted of a camp under Colonel Oliver at some distance within our own border.[6] "The notion of defending 500 miles of frontier by a fixed camp of 3,000 bayonets," wrote Hodgson in a private memorandum, "needs but to

[1] Letter dated November 16th, 1840. In citations from the Hodgson Private Papers, I am sometimes (although seldom) unable to verify from the official despatches, and have to quote from extracts or copies.

[2] George Bushby, Secretary to the Government of India, dated November 14th, 1840.—Hodgson Private Papers.

[3] Despatch from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated January 29th, 1841, para. 7.—Hodgson Private Papers.

[4] J. R. Colvin to B. H. Hodgson, dated Calcutta, December 2nd, 1840.—Auckland MSS., Vol. XIII.

[5] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated February 15th, 1841, para. 2, to the Resident.

[6] The force consisted of one squadron, 6th Light Cavalry; the 12th, 40th, and 56th Native Infantry; a detail of Artillery; and a detachment of Irregular Cavalry.—Oldfield, I. 322.

be clearly stated to show its absurdity. For myself, I have always carefully endeavoured to guard against any such supposition when I have advised the movement of British [*i.e.* Indian] troops, and have expressly stated that the object of such movement was merely to impress this Darbar with a conviction of the serious light in which its conduct was regarded."

Long before the camp could be formed Hodgson secured the objects for which the demonstration had been designed. Encouraged by the approval of the Governor-General, he followed up the dismissal of the Queen's favourite Pandi on November 1st, 1840, by obtaining the appointment of a coalition Ministry composed of the royal collaterals who were always on the side of dynastic safety, and of the Brahman Raghunath who had proved himself a man of peace. The Senior Queen stood aside, watchful and vindictive, but powerless for the present.

The Raja commenced the year 1841 by presenting a remarkable document to the Resident, in which he recounts the changes just made and his reasons for making them. "The Governor-General, Lord Auckland," so runs this royal missive,[1] "has written stating that it was necessary and proper to dismiss from office the individuals who had disturbed the friendly feeling existing between the British and Nepal Governments, and to appoint in their places others who had the good of the two Governments at heart, and that until the individuals who had so behaved have been dismissed, there could be no real friendship on the part of my Government.

"According therefore to the note received from you, I have inquired into the matter, and have decided upon dismissing those persons who have disturbed the good understanding existing between the two Governments, as shown in the subjoined list."

[1] "Translation of a Yaddasht from the Maharaja of Nepal to the address of the Resident, dated Saturday, January 2nd, 1841."—Hodgson Private Papers.

The document goes on to say that "whatever the Prime Minister and his colleagues now appointed may see fit to do in order to strengthen the bonds of real friendship between the two Governments will meet with my approval." It quaintly concludes with lists of the "Individuals Appointed" and "Individuals Discharged" in parallel columns.

The nobles, particularly the royal collaterals and the Brahmans, rallied round the Raja and hailed with acclamation the change. Thanks to the British Resident, the reign of terror under the Queen's favourite was at an end. "The spiritual leaders, royal kinsmen, and chiefs of Nepal" joined together to the number of ninety-four, and signed a declaration friendly to our Government, taking on themselves the responsibility for the safety of the British Resident in event of another mutiny or tumult such as occurred in the previous July. The document forms a curious proof of the personal esteem which Hodgson, with his firmness in public and his Brahman-like abstemiousness in private life, had won from the Nepalese nobility. The British Government considered it of such importance as to give it a permanent place in its Treaties and Engagements with Native States.[1]

"We the undersigned Gurus, Chauntrias, Chiefs, etc., of Nepal, fully agree to uphold the sentiments as written below, viz.—That it is most desirable and proper that a firm and steady friendship should exist and be daily increased between the British and Nepal Governments; that to this end every means should be taken to increase the friendly relations with the Company, and the welfare of the Nepal Government; that the Resident should ever and always be treated in an honourable and friendly manner; that if, nevertheless, any unforeseen circumstance

[1] "Translation of an Ikrar-namah, signed by the Gurus, Chauntrias, Chiefs, etc., of Nepal, dated Saturday, Poos Soodi 9th, 1897, or January 2nd, 1841."—Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, Vol. II., pp. 178, 179. Ed. 1876.

or unjust or senseless proceeding should at any time arise to shake the friendly understanding which ought to exist between the two Governments, or to cause uproar or mischief at Kathmandu, we should be responsible for it." Signed by the ninety-four chiefs.

Lord Auckland, full of his embarrassments in Afghanistan, had scarcely dared to hope for success from Hodgson's unaided efforts in Nepal. Only twelve days before the above documents were signed, he wrote despondently to Hodgson, lamenting "that the expectations of effectual assistance from the well-disposed chiefs of Nepal, on which you had in the first instance been led to rely, have not been realised."[1] All the Governor-General could urge on Hodgson was to avoid a "direct collision" "at a moment when it might be impossible to render to you vigorous protection and support."[2] It was therefore with the greater sense of relief that Lord Auckland received the Raja's missive of January 2nd, 1841, and the "agreement entered into by several influential chiefs and other individuals to 'maintain the alliance between the two Governments." "The Governor-General in Council, I have the honour to inform you," says the official despatch, "has been pleased to express his entire approval of your proceedings during the anxious period of these negotiations."[3]

Hodgson was now master of the situation. The Senior Queen, frantic at the discomfiture of her favourite, resolved to quit the country, and in February 1841 set off on a pilgrimage to Benares. The poor Raja once more lost heart, and followed her with intent to bring her back or to bear her company. Lord Auckland declared that this attempt "to enter the British territories without a pass-

[1] The Secretary to the Government of India, dated December 21st, 1840 (secret), to the Resident at Kathmandu.—Auckland MSS.

[2] *Idem.*, para. 6.

[3] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated January 25th, 1841, para. 2 (secret), to the Resident at Kathmandu.—Auckland MSS.

port must, in the actual state of the communications between the two Governments, be regarded as in the highest degree indecorous and unwarrantable."[1] On Hodgson fell the delicate task of persuading the royal party to come back. The Queen, imagining from the British Resident's efforts to procure her return that he must regard her as a very important personage, celebrated her re-entry into the capital by at once summoning her favourite Pandi to her presence![2] The city walls were placarded with denunciations of the coalition cabinet, and with threats against the life of the new Prime Minister.[3] Everything seemed once more to point to a counter-revolution.

In these intrigues the Senior Queen found a new ally. Her eldest son, the heir-apparent, although only about twelve years old,[4] had acquired considerable importance since his marriage, and his mother played upon his jealousy of the Junior Queen's children to make him her tool. "This young prince," writes the historian of Nepal, "who appeared to have a most ungovernable temper, as well as a most inhuman disposition, amused his leisure hours by acts of the grossest cruelty performed not only upon animals but upon men, who were tortured and mutilated in his presence upon the slightest and often most unjust grounds, for no other object than to gratify his brutal passions. The Raja, instead of exercising any restraint upon these excesses of his son, constantly tried to evade all responsibility for his own acts under cover of pretended coercion on the part of the prince, of whose violence he professed to be afraid."[5]

[1] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated March 3rd, 1841, to the Resident at Kathmandu.

[2] Assistant Resident Nicholetts' Memorandum, *sub anno* 1841, para. 17.—*India Office Records.* [3] *Idem.*, para. 26.

[4] Sri Surendra Vikram Sah, born 1829.—Native Chronicle, quoted by Wright, p. 284. Ed. 1877.

[5] Oldfield, Vol. I., p. 326. Ed. 1880. Dr. Oldfield was Residency Surgeon at Kathmandu from 1850 to 1863, and Honorary Assistant Resident during the last four years of that period.

The Queen-Mother, still intent on deposing her husband and ruling as regent during the minority of her son, managed to put the young prince to the front on all public occasions. In May 1841 the British Resident and the officers of his suite attended the marriage of the Raja's second son. At this great ceremonial, says the official report, "it was generally noticed as strange that the heir-apparent preceded his Highness the Maharaja in the cortege."[1] The Raja as usual succumbed to the influence of the Senior Queen, and the Coalition Ministry found their good intentions towards the British Government stultified by her palace intrigues. In January 1841 the Raja, when appointing that Ministry, had written to the Governor-General a letter of frank repentance. "I beg to inform your Lordship that I take shame to myself for the various misunderstandings which have taken place, owing to the wicked advice of my late counsellors, and that I am determined to adopt measures for the prevention of such a state of things in future. I therefore hope and trust that your Lordship will kindly pardon and overlook the past."[2] Before three months passed, the new Ministers were trembling for their heads; all redress was denied for fresh wrongs on British subjects; fugitives from British justice were harboured within the Nepalese frontier; and a counter-revolution had been secretly accomplished, leaving the Coalition Ministry nominally responsible for the vindictive policy of the Senior Queen.

In April 1841 the Governor-General had to face the possibility of the Coalition Ministry, appointed in January under British auspices, being subjected to the horrors perpetrated on Bhim Sen and his supporters two years previously. All he could do was to instruct Hodgson "to

[1] Assistant Resident Nicholetts' Narrative, *sub anno* 1841, para. 21.—*India Office Records.*

[2] Translation of a *Kharita* from the Raja of Nepal to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, dated January 4th, 1841.—Hodgson Private Papers.

use the language of earnest expostulation or of firm but temperate remonstrance," as the occasion might demand.[1] So Hodgson was left to encounter what threatened to be another sanguinary crisis, and to out-manœuvre the furious Queen, with the knowledge that no force was available to back him, and merely with orders to do what he could.

The months which followed were among the most anxious in his life. But whatever he himself felt, he made the Queen and her war party also feel that he was too dangerous to be openly attacked. He never showed his hand, and the Queen could not free herself from the apprehension that so much confidence was a confidence conscious of strength. Once more the Raja feebly oscillated back to the British alliance; the Queen did not dare to deliver her blow at the Coalition Ministry, and that Ministry, under Hodgson's support, was reconstituted on a firmer basis.

Before the end of the summer of 1841, Hodgson could report that the crisis was over, and that the Queen was spending her wrath in wall-placards. In August the Governor-General congratulated him "that the arrogant and furious spirit of the Queen and her faction is giving way to a milder vein, and that the present Ministry will be enabled to resume their functions under more favourable auspices." "His Lordship in Council will be much gratified to hear of any arrangement of affairs in Nepal which you shall consider likely to be favourable and stable, and which shall secure to your Government its legitimate influence in the counsels of that State, without a resort to measures of actual hostility."[2]

"Lord Auckland," the Secretary wrote privately,[3] "in a note just come from him says: 'Mr. Hodgson has done extremely well again, so that I would not interfere with him

[1] Letter from Secretary to Government of India, Secret Department dated April 26th, 1841.—Auckland MSS.

[2] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Secret Department, dated August 16th, 1841.—Auckland MSS.

[3] T. H. Maddock to B. H. Hodgson, dated August 12th, 1841.

by any peremptory instructions, but leave him to follow his own sound judgment. He is quite right in assuming that I am not desirous of a war with Nepal.'"

The victory over the war party being again won, the usual results followed. The long-delayed redress was granted to British subjects and merchants; refugee Thugs and robber-chiefs were surrendered by the Nepalese frontier authorities; and the Queen quitted the capital in a rage. She felt that this defeat was her final one, and, in spite of the deadly season in the Tarai jungles, she set off for Benares, resolved to spend the rest of her days in religious solitude. Her feeble-minded husband would as usual have followed her, and might perhaps have persuaded her to return. But the poor passionate lady caught jungle fever, and on October 6th, 1841, she died on her way to the plains. The peace Ministry, as reconstituted under British auspices, at once became supreme in Nepal. Then at length the Governor-General felt that the danger from Nepal was for the time being at an end. "I congratulate you," he wrote with his own hand to Hodgson, "upon the honourable results of your well-directed and most persevering labours."[1] "I heartily congratulate you," Lord Auckland again wrote with his own hand a few weeks later, as the good working of his peace Ministry developed, "upon the results of your diplomatic labours."[2]

The Government of India in its collective capacity was not tardy to tender its thanks. It left the removal or retention of the troops near the frontier entirely to Hodgson's discretion. "In conclusion," runs one despatch, "I am desired to convey to you the high approbation of Government of the great ability, judgment, and perseverance which you have manifested in your late tedious and difficult negotiations."[3] How narrow had been the

[1] Lord Auckland to B. H. Hodgson, dated Calcutta, November 14th, 1841.—Auckland MSS.

[2] The same to the same, dated December 12th, 1841.

[3] Letter from Government of India to Resident at Kathmandu, dated December 22nd, 1841, para. 3.—Hodgson Private Papers.

escape from a Nepalese war effected by those negotiations, and how eagerly it was welcomed by sensible men in the Government of India, may be judged from the following facts.

During the summer of 1841, a member of the Governor-General's Council wrote to Hodgson that he had long fixed that autumn for going home, but a war with Nepal seemed so impossible to avoid that he could not in honour leave his post. By December 1841, our envoy in Afghanistan knew that his last hope from the British garrison there was gone, and that it only remained to face ruin. In January 1842 the British forces in Afghanistan, "a crouching, drooping, dispirited army" of 4,500 men with 12,000 camp-followers stumbling along "as they best could through the snow and slush," started on the ghastly retreat through the passes. Of those doomed thousands, "one man only, fainting from wounds, hunger, and exhaustion, was borne on by his jaded pony to the walls of Jalalabad."[1] If I have not dwelt on the anxieties which were eating the heart of the Government of India during the years of Hodgson's single-handed struggle to maintain peace with honour in Nepal, it is because his work was in itself so good that it needs no adventitious circumstances to enhance its value. Before the end of January 1842 Lord Auckland learned that the Kabul force had been annihilated in the snows.

Hodgson's success formed indeed almost the one break of light amid the general gloom. The Nepalese Raja, set free from the influence of his furious wife and not yet subjected to that of her equally furious son, showed a genuine desire to stand well with the British Government. At the end of 1841 he placed at our disposal the Nepal forces for war employment. "I have been highly gratified," Lord Auckland wrote to the Raja shortly before the news of the final catastrophe amid the Afghan snows

[1] *The Earl of Auckland*, by Captain L. J. Trotter (Rulers of India Series), p. 163. Ed. 1893.

reached Calcutta, "by your friendly letter tendering for the use of my Government in Ava or Afghanistan the services of your Highness's army. For this friendly offer accept my warm acknowledgments. For I must regard it as a proof of your amiable feeling and desire to promote the interests of the British Government." Lord Auckland goes on to explain the circumstances which prevented him at that time from accepting his Highness's proposal. Mindful, however, of Hodgson's often-urged scheme for the incorporation of a Gurkha element into the Company's forces, he thus concludes :—

"Under these circumstances I should have no immediate means of availing myself of the services of the Gurkha army. But I duly appreciate their value as brave and well-disciplined soldiers, and if any future occasion should arise when they might co-operate with the British forces it would afford me the greatest satisfaction to see the Gurkha and the British soldier marching side by side as friends and allies to the attack of a common enemy."[1] Lord Auckland did not live to witness this idea realised. But Hodgson remained to urge it successfully on another Governor-General in a still greater crisis of the British fortunes in India, and to see it permanently worked out in the Gurkha regiments which now form so distinguished a part of the British-Indian army.

With his usual candour he made Lord Auckland clearly understand the limitations which rendered it unsafe to regard his diplomatic success as complete. The death of the Senior Queen had for the time deprived the war party in Nepal of its head. But it only opened the way to the ambitious designs of her eldest son. The heir-apparent fell under the influence of the Pandis, and in spite of his youth was pushed forward by them into the political leadership formerly held by his mother. The Junior Queen, as now chief wife of the Raja, began to intrigue for her own

[1] Letter from the Governor-General to H.H. the Maharaja of Nepal, dated January 22nd, 1842.—Auckland MSS.

two sons. Accordingly the year 1842 opened with three distinct parties in Nepal: first, the feeble Raja, supported by the peace Ministry of royal collaterals and the spiritual chiefs, which had been formed under Hodgson's auspices; second, the heir-apparent, who, at the head of the Pandis and war party, was working for the deposition of the Raja in his own favour; third, the surviving Queen, who was working for the supersession of the heir-apparent on the plea of his insanity, in favour of her eldest son.

A fantastical incident showed the explosive state which these parties quickly reached. The Senior Queen's death had, as usual in Nepal, been ascribed to poison, and the rumour to that effect was noticed in an Anglo-Indian newspaper. The Raja, ablaze with indignation, demanded an interview from the Resident. "Mr. Hodgson started for the palace, but much to his astonishment," says the official narrative, "he had scarcely reached the Residency gate, when he saw the Maharaja and heir-apparent standing on the road attended by several chiefs."[1] Hodgson tried to calm his Highness by assurances that "every exertion would be made by the Governor-General to discover the author of the slanderous tale." "Tell the Governor-General," the Raja exclaimed in a fury, "that he must and shall give him up. I will have him and flay him alive, and rub him with salt and lemon until he die. Further, tell the Governor-General that if this infamous calumniator is not delivered up, there shall be war between us."[2] Upon this the heir-apparent stopped his father with insulting epithets and blows, striking him again and again. After re-enacting the miserable scene of violence in his Spiritual Director's garden, the hot fit passed off, and the Raja made a humble apology to the British Resident.

A month after the news of the annihilation of our Kabul force reached Calcutta, Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough on February 28th, 1842. Lord

[1] Assistant Resident Nicholetts' Memorandum, *sub anno* 1842, para. 27.—*India Office Records.* [2] *Idem.*

Auckland's long Governor-Generalship of six years ended amid a gloom such as had never overshadowed British rule in India since the Black Hole of Calcutta in 1756. During its last dismal week, not only Lord Auckland but the provincial chiefs in Northern India looked anxiously to Hodgson to prevent their flank being turned by an outbreak from Nepal. "If you can continue," wrote the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to Hodgson on February 24th, 1842, "with the same success as heretofore to divert the Darbar from war, you will indeed have accomplished a most important diversion in our favour."

Hodgson, as I have mentioned, was scrupulous to explain the limitations imposed by the temper of the heir-apparent and military party in Nepal upon any diplomatic success. But in the view of the Governor-General that success was ample, for it kept Nepal from striking in at the moment of our weakness and defeat. During his last four days of office Lord Auckland congratulated Hodgson both publicly and privately upon the results actually achieved. "Once more I congratulate you on the successful results of your negotiations," he wrote to Hodgson on February 24th, 1842.[1] On his final day as Governor-General he sent a formal despatch to Hodgson, stating that "the issue of your late proceedings has been so successful as to prove that you have acted throughout these transactions with a thorough knowledge of the native character, and with a degree of skill, prudence, and forbearance that is highly creditable to you. His Lordship begs to congratulate you on the favourable issue of your last struggle."[2]

The Earl of Ellenborough had been appointed by the Court of Directors in October 1841, when the advices from India were still comparatively favourable. But his arrival at the climax of our disasters in Afghanistan made the

[1] Auckland MSS.

[2] Secretary to Government of India to Resident in Nepal, February 28th, 1842.—Hodgson Private Papers.

change of rulers appear almost an act of recall, although Lord Auckland had already been retained as Governor-General[1] for a year beyond the usual term. Lord Ellenborough's incautious talk gave countenance to this idea, and he very soon showed that he believed his mission to be a reversal of his predecessor's measures and the supersession of his predecessor's men. Perhaps it was with this foreboding in his mind that Lord Auckland penned his last letter to Hodgson from the Sandheads as his ship was standing off to sea.

"I write these few hasty lines to you, to take leave of you, and to wish you such good health as may enable you to complete your labours in Nepal, and afterwards to enjoy many years of comfort in England. It is most satisfactory to me on the eve of my departure from India, and when there is so much of gloom and danger in one quarter of our political horizon, that the prospects in regard to Nepal are better and more promising than they have long been. Once more I thank you for all you have done, and I wish you well."[2]

Of the remarkable man who succeeded Lord Auckland on February 28th, 1842, it is even now difficult to speak. Endowed with his father's gifts of forensic skill and eloquence, Lord Ellenborough's oratory won for him a reputation in Parliament which was never altogether lost by his mingled vacillation and rashness in action. History writes of his brief Indian career in the language of indignation. Its verdict may in several respects require to be reconsidered and in certain details to be modified. My purview is here restricted to his connection with Nepal. There as everywhere he determined from the outset to make his personality felt. In order, however, to understand his action in Nepal, it is necessary to have some idea of the general tenour of his administration and of the

[1] March 4th, 1836, to February 28th, 1842.

[2] Letter marked "private" from Lord Auckland to B. H. Hodgson, dated March 7th, 1842, from the Sandheads.—Hodgson Private Papers.

character of the man. For the present I prefer to quote the summing up of the most smooth-voiced of Indian historians rather than to myself pronounce on the idiosyncrasies which led to Lord Ellenborough's recall at the end of two years.

"He went to India the avowed champion of peace, and he was incessantly engaged in war. For the Afghan war he was not, indeed, accountable—he found it on his hands; and in the mode in which he proposed to conclude it, and in which he would have concluded it but for the remonstrances of his military advisers, he certainly displayed no departure from the ultra-pacific policy which he had professed in England. The triumphs with which the perseverance of the generals commanding in Afghanistan graced his administration seem completely to have altered his views; and the desire of military glory thenceforward supplanted every other feeling in his breast. He would have shunned war in Afghanistan by a course which the majority of his countrymen would pronounce dishonourable. He might without dishonour have avoided war in Sind, and possibly have averted hostilities at Gwalior: but he did not. For the internal improvement of India he did nothing. He had, indeed, little time to do anything.

"War, and preparation for war, absorbed most of his hours, and in a theatrical display of childish pomp many more were consumed. With an extravagant confidence in his own judgment, even on points which he had never studied, he united no portion of steadiness or constancy. His purposes were formed and abandoned with a levity which accorded little with the offensive tone which he manifested in their defence, so long as they were entertained. His administration was not an illustration of any marked and consistent course of policy; it was an aggregation of isolated facts. It resembled an ill-constructed drama, in which no one incident is the result of that by which it was preceded, nor a just and natural preparation for that which is to follow. Everything in it

stands alone and unconnected. His influence shot across the Asiatic world like a meteor, and, but for the indelible brand of shame indented in Sind, like a meteor its memory would pass from the mind with its disappearance."[1]

On his arrival in Calcutta Lord Ellenborough found the Government of India rallying from the Kabul disaster. On March 15th, 1842, that Government, with the new Governor-General at its head, laid down a programme to retrieve its honour.[2] All garrisons in Afghanistan then surrounded by the enemy were to be relieved. A strong point was made of re-occupying Kabul "even for a week," so that "we should retire as a conquering, not as a defeated power."

Unfortunately Lord Ellenborough proceeded shortly afterwards to the interior, unattended by his Council. On receiving further bad news from the North-Western frontier his courage failed, and in April he ordered the withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan—the southern force to Sukkur on the Indus, the northern force "into positions within the Khaibar."

The British generals hesitated to accept what they deemed a disgraceful and disastrous change. By the middle of May the Governor-General began to veer round to a bolder policy, and acquiesced in their postponement of the withdrawal. As they made their force felt in Afghanistan, Lord Ellenborough gradually regained confidence, and sanctioned their advance on Kabul. But he had not the courage to boldly avow the fact of his vacillation. On July 8th, 1842, he even wrote to the Secret Committee that his instructions had induced Major-General Pollock to contemplate a forward movement! Only two days previously he had penned a remarkable

[1] *The History of the British Empire in India*, by Edward Thornton, Vol. VI., pp. 548, 549. Ed. 1841-45.

[2] The two following sentences are condensed from the instructions of the Government of India to Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief, dated March 15th, 1842.

letter to the Queen, apparently with a view to gloss over his change of mind. He represented to her Majesty that what was in reality an advance of an army of retribution upon Kabul was merely an option given to General Nott "of retiring by the route of Ghazni and Kabul, instead of that of Quettah and Sukkur, to the Indus." [1]

It is not needful here to inquire how far this vacillation was justified. It suffices to state that, taken along with the moral cowardice of the attempt to gloss it over, it caused dismay to the British administrators throughout India, and an outburst of jubilation among the disaffected of the Native Chiefs.

In Nepal, which lay adjacent for six hundred miles to our main line of communication through Northern India and could cut it at half a dozen points, the effect was startling. To the war party it seemed that, not only the time had come, but also the man. It appeared incredible that the British fortunes in India would ever again be entrusted to such feeble hands. They got the Court astrologers to declare that the heir-apparent was an "Incarnation" destined to "extirpate the Feringhis."[2] Our military demonstration towards the Nepalese frontier was forgotten upon the withdrawal of the standing camp in February 1842, and the Pandi faction "was daily amusing the young prince with mock fights between the English and Gurkhas. The English were represented by a set of low-caste ragamuffins dressed in British uniform and with faces painted white, and under the command of some pariah who was attired in full-dress uniform of an English general. The Gurkhas were commanded by a son of the late Premier and by Kulraj Pandi himself. Of course these actions were all made to end in the ignominious defeat of the

[1] Letter from Lord Ellenborough to the Queen, dated Allahabad, July 6th, 1842.—*The Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*, being his letters edited by Lord Colchester, p. 39. Ed. 1874.

[2] Assistant Resident Nicholetts' Memorandum, *sub anno* 1842, para. 29, etc.

supposed British forces; and the poor devils who represented them were in the end often seriously, and even cruelly, maltreated by the victorious Gurkhas in order to add a little more life and piquancy to the burlesque. A little real blood being shed would be sure to make the exhibition more attractive to his Royal Highness."[1]

Two months after the news of the annihilation of our Kabul force, the war excitement in Nepal exploded in an outrage on the Residency. The Raja, finding himself powerless to control his son, announced his intention of abdicating in the prince's favour. The peace Ministry of the royal collaterals found themselves equally powerless to control the war party, and could only give a trembling support to the Resident by secret warnings. A lawsuit with a British-Indian subject trading with Nepal was made the pretext for an outbreak. This man, Kasinath by name, the representative of a mercantile house at Benares, had during two years[2] been living within the Residency bounds under medical treatment for a painful disease, while prosecuting his claims and defending counter-claims in the dilatory courts of Kathmandu.[3] Suddenly on the morning of April 23rd, 1842, writes Hodgson in one of his private notes, "my people hurried into my room with the intelligence that the Raja attended by a large train was approaching the Embassy, and that in rear of him but in sight was a regiment of soldiers with loaded arms.

"The news came from the friendly Ministers, who, taken by surprise, could only send me a word of caution and hurry after the Raja to the Residency. Accompanied by Dr. Christie, who happened to be with me at the moment, I hastened to the entrance gate, at the same time sending

[1] Oldfield, Vol. I., p. 327. Ed. 1880.

[2] Statement by Lieutenant F. Smith, in command of the Resident's Escort (Appendix VII., Secret Consultations of the Government of India, August 3rd, 1842, No. 66).—*India Office MSS.*

[3] The case is stated at great length in the Petition of Kasinath Mull of Benares to the Resident at Kathmandu, dated February 27th, 1842. —Secret Consultations of August 3rd, 1842, No. 51.

word to the commanding officer of my escort to bring his men quickly for the ostensible purpose of making the usual salute to the sovereign. I thought that, in case of contemplated violence, the presence of the escort for the purpose of salute might prove a deterrent, though of course no effectual protection if the worst came to the worst. When I got to the gate the Raja had already arrived with his son and a huge posse of retainers and chiefs, among the latter the friendly Ministers.

"With little preface the Raja said to me he had come to demand and to insist on the surrender of the merchant. I explained that he could not be given up, because the case was not one of disputed jurisdiction but of strong-handed interference with all legal proceedings."[1] "Kasinath then, at Mr. Hodgson's request," says the official narrative,[2] "made his obeisance to the Raja and declared he had no wish or intention of opposing him, and that all he wanted was justice. The Raja then ordered him to be seized."

"Notwithstanding the Raja's vehemence of demand," to resume from Hodgson's own note, "I steadfastly but courteously continued to refuse compliance. His Highness at length rushed at the poor merchant and attempted to bear him off. I threw my arm round the merchant and said sternly to the Raja, 'You take both of us or neither.' This was more than the Raja could screw up his resolution to do, although his hot-headed son urged him to do it with abuse and even blows. Seizing the moment, I made an appeal to the Raja's better feeling (I had known him from his boyhood), and thus at length I cast the balance against the mischief-makers. But it was not until

[1] Hodgson's habitual moderation when speaking of an opponent appears here. The scene is described by the Escort Officer in his official narrative as follows: "I found the Raja in a great passion and insisting that Kasinath should be given up to him. The Resident remonstrated, saying he was a British subject and could not. The Raja then became very violent."—Lieutenant F. Smith's Statement, *ut supra* (*India Office MSS.*).

[2] Lieutenant F. Smith's Statement, *ut supra*.

a full hour of imminent risk had elapsed, during which the friendly chiefs, as they passed and repassed me in the surging crowd, dropped in my ear the words: 'Be patient and firm; all depends on you. We cannot act now, but we can and will exact an apology when the Raja's fit of violence has abated, and we have got him away.'"

Later in the day, the Raja and his heir-apparent made a second attempt in person to seize the man—an attempt again frustrated by Hodgson's calm determination that they must take himself as prisoner as well as the merchant, or neither. Eventually they calmed down and sent the friendly Ministers to negotiate with the Resident. Hodgson declared "that he could only be guided by the rules of his office; but if they would prepare a statement of the case and their decision, he would submit it to the Governor-General in Council for his orders."[1] In the end the merchant of his own accord went with the friendly Ministers and made his obeisance to the Raja, the Prime Minister and chief spiritual head of the State "being security for his safety and return to the Residency."

Hodgson reported the occurrence to his Government, and received in answer a letter dated May 8th, 1842, which disclosed the change of attitude towards him that had accompanied the change of Governor-Generals. Lord Ellenborough "had been led to indulge the hope that the communications between the two States would henceforth have been of the most amicable and courteous character."[2] It is scarcely needful to repeat that neither his predecessor Lord Auckland, nor his Council in Calcutta from whom the new Governor-General was then separated by six hundred miles, nor Hodgson himself, had ever indulged in any such hope of permanent cordiality.

[1] Lieutenant F. Smith's "Statement of what occurred on Saturday, April 23rd, 1842."—*India Office MSS.*

[2] Secret Consultations of the Government of India of August 3rd, 1842, No. 67, Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Resident in Nepal, dated Allahabad, May 8th, 1842, para. 3.—*India Office MSS.*

Lord Ellenborough, therefore, heard of the recent affair "with much disappointment and regret." He was good enough, however, to say that "his Lordship cannot believe that you would act in a manner so entirely contrary to the known views and wishes of your Government as to attempt to extend the privileges of British subjects or your own authority beyond the just limits which the laws of nations and a solemn Treaty assign to them; still less that you would evince a want of personal consideration for a friendly and independent sovereign. Nor could his Lordship believe, on the other hand, that that sovereign could so far forget his personal dignity and the obligations of the public law and Treaty as to offer an intentional insult to the Representative at his Court of a sincerely friendly Power and to place under prosecution a British subject."

Meanwhile his Lordship thinks that the State presents on their way from Nepal, in honour of his accession to the Governor-Generalship, "at a moment when the cloud of misunderstanding has passed over the sun of friendship," "should await the period when that sun shall burst forth in all its former effulgence to give light and splendour and prosperity to two great and friendly States."

Hodgson did not know exactly what to make of this letter in Lord Ellenborough's finest vein. He felt that somehow he was placed on his defence by a Governor-General absolutely ignorant of the situation. The letter was to be communicated to the Raja—a letter not only full of pompous inanities, but one which would, in Hodgson's judgment, undo the good results of Lord Auckland's policy in Nepal and endanger the lives of the friendly Ministers. He therefore determined to take upon himself the responsibility of not delivering it. He communicated, however, a modification of its views to the Raja in less injudicious terms, reported his action to the Governor-General, and hoped for his Lordship's approval when the facts were fully laid before him. The Governor-General replied, after some intermediate rebukes, that "the

step you have taken is not only in direct disobedience of the instructions you received, but it may tend to produce serious embarrassment to the Government, by compelling it to adopt an extreme course with respect to the Raja of Nepal at a time when it is certainly not desirable to create a division of the British forces and to impose new burdens on the finances." His Lordship directed, therefore, that "you will be relieved in your situation of Resident at the Court of Nepal at the earliest period at which the season and the exigencies of the public service may permit such relief to take place."[1]

There were circumstances which rendered this decision peculiarly harsh. It was the decision of the Governor-General alone, without a single member of his Council to advise him—of a Governor-General who had only been a few months in the country, and who was so completely ignorant of our relations with Nepal that he asked Hodgson during the same summer for a return of the Nepalese troops which he imagined to be at the Resident's disposal! Lord Ellenborough possibly thought that Hodgson had not taken advantage of the opportunity afforded to him for explaining matters in person to his Lordship. In his letter of May 8th the Governor-General expressed his desire for a personal conference, and directed Hodgson "to join his camp as soon as the season will permit you to do so." Lord Ellenborough was not aware that, for a man in Hodgson's state of health, the journey through the Tarai for some months to come meant probable death. Hodgson deputed his secretary to the Governor-General's camp, with excuses for his personal attendance until the malarious months should be past. But this only gave further offence.[2]

[1] Letter from the Secretary with Governor-General to the Resident of Nepal, dated Allahabad, June 21st, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

[2] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Resident at Kathmandu, dated June 12th, 1842, para. 2.—*India Office Records.*

The essential point was that Hodgson had declined, at his own risk and pending further instructions, to carry out orders which in his opinion would have frustrated the policy that Lord Auckland and his Council had built up in Nepal, and which would have imperilled the lives of the peace Ministers whom that policy had raised to office. "I believed," he at once wrote to the Government on receipt of his dismissal, "that the literal execution of your orders of the 8th ult. threatened immediately and suddenly to destroy the whole fabric of that policy; perhaps also to bury in its ruins numerous distinguished chiefs, whose pledges of co-operation had been as solemnly tendered to as accepted by my Government, and the services of the principal of whom in the capacity of Ministers of this State had just received the highest applause from the Governor-General in Council; and lastly to precipitate that very crisis which Lord Ellenborough sought to avoid, as well as to strip us of all the means to meet it when it came.

"I believed, moreover, that these far-reaching effects, enveloped as to their sources and quality in the transactions of the four years just past, could scarcely have been at all present to the mind of the Governor-General, by reason of his Lordship's so recent arrival, when the instructions in question were issued; and that it was my duty, therefore, to pause and explain them; carefully in the meantime studying to ward off all risk of crisis during his Lordship's deliberation, and endeavouring, if possible, to accomplish the end and object of his orders, so that it might be done in sure exemption from that risk. Whilst intent upon the realisation of these essential points, I considered myself as virtually accomplishing my instructions."[1]

It is not needful to weigh nicely the arguments for and against the line of action which Hodgson adopted. In failing to carry out the orders of the Governor-General he

[1] Letter from the Resident in Nepal to T. H. Maddock, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, dated June 30th, 1842, paras. 4, 5, 6.—Hodgson Papers.

took on himself a very serious responsibility, and he was ready to abide by the consequences. Such a case could scarcely arise at the present day. The more rapid means of communication by railway, post, and telegraph have placed the British Agents at Native Courts in daily, or if necessary in hourly, touch with the Governor-General in Council. All the facts and arguments known to a Political Resident may now within a few minutes be laid before the central Government, and his action in any crisis embodies the decision of that Government with the whole circumstances before it. The constitution of the Government of India has also undergone alterations which would have saved Lord Ellenborough from this and similar exhibitions of impetuous temper. The reversal of our policy towards a Native State could not now be the act of the Governor-General alone, but must be the outcome of the joint deliberations of the Viceroy and his Council.

But while changes in the constitution of the Government of India give a somewhat academic character to criticism of the course adopted by Hodgson, it is right to understand the view which then prevailed. The British Agents at Native Courts were frequently compelled by their remoteness to act independently of the central Government, and sometimes to disregard instructions which they knew to be based on insufficient information. Sir John Malcolm, perhaps the greatest of all the great Indian "Politicals," clearly stated the duties and responsibilities of such a position. At a critical juncture in his own career he declared that the considerations which must regulate his conduct were different from those which should guide an officer at headquarters.

"Your station and mine," he wrote to Political Secretary Edmonstone, "are widely different. As an officer of Government acting immediately under the Governor-General you have, in fact, only to obey orders, and are never left to the exercise of your discretion and judgment, as you have a ready reference in all cases that can occur

to the superior authority, with whom, of course, every responsibility rests. Under such circumstances, a secretary that chooses to be of a different opinion—that is to say, to *maintain* different opinions—from a Governor-General, has, in my opinion, no option but to resign; and his non-resignation [1] would, on such occasion, appear extraordinary to every person acquainted with the nature of his office, which is obviously one of an executive, not of a deliberative nature.

"Now look at my situation. Placed at a great distance from the Governor-General, and acting upon instructions of a general nature—obliged constantly to determine points upon my own judgment, as there is no time for reference—liable to be called upon by extraordinary exigencies to act in a most decided manner to save the public interests from injury, it is indispensable that the sentiments of my mind should be in some unison with the dictates of my duty; and if they unfortunately are contrary to it I am not fit to be employed, for I have seen enough of these scenes to be satisfied that a mere principle of obedience will never carry a man through a charge where such large discretionary powers must be given, with either honour to himself or advantage to the public." [2]

This was the view of the highest class of Indian Politicals in Hodgson's time, and his early training had been under a man who held that view very strongly. His first master George Traill, the "King of Kumaun," [3] inculcated it both by precept and example. It is a view which, as I have shown, has ceased to be applicable to the modern conditions of Indian government, and which need not be discussed here. Lord Ellenborough thought he had to deal with a Political Resident who, in Malcolm's emphatic

[1] The word in the original is "resignation," probably an error in copying. The word *maintain* is in italics in the original.

[2] *Lives of Indian Officers*, by Sir John William Kaye, Vol. I., pp. 164-5. London, 1867.

[3] *Vide ante*, p. 38.

words, seemed disposed "to maintain different opinions" from himself, and he dealt with him in a fit of temper.[1]

Forty years afterwards, Hodgson with the calm of old age recorded his view of the transaction. The new Governor-General, he wrote, although away from his Council and in opposition to his Foreign Secretary, who was the only responsible officer with him, summarily condemned "the tried and successful policy of his predecessor," and ordered a dangerous communication to be made to the Raja of Nepal. "It seemed to me impossible to follow such a course, and, as his Lordship declared that his object was peace, I ventured to disobey orders which I thought would certainly imperil it."[2]

The Secretary to the Government in Calcutta, when he heard of the matter, wrote privately to Hodgson, congratulating him on his wise and courageous action. "You have taken a judicious course, and I make no doubt that Lord Ellenborough (since his first instructions having learnt and reflected more of what had passed under his predecessor's rule) will approve your proceeding, and commend the tact and judgment with which you have adapted the orders received to the situation of things and parties at Kathmandu."[3]

This letter was written three days before Lord Ellenborough's brusque removal of Hodgson from his post on June 21st, 1842. But its forecast seemed to be promptly realised. For Lord Ellenborough himself, after a night's reflection, began to have misgivings as to his impetuous act, and the same Foreign Secretary who had been ordered to write with his own hand the official letter of the 21st

[1] On June 3rd and June 12th Lord Ellenborough, without condescending to notice Hodgson's plea for further deliberation, practically reiterated the order to deliver a translation of the letter to the Raja *in extenso*.

[2] Autobiographical Memoranda written by Mr. Hodgson in 1881.—Hodgson MSS.

[3] Letter from G. A. Bushby to B. H. Hodgson, dated Calcutta, June 18th, 1842.

superseding Hodgson, wrote on the 22nd, and again with his own hand, the following confidential letter to the man whom he had yesterday recalled in disgrace :—

"MY DEAR HODGSON,[1]—Lord Ellenborough has been speaking to-day about you, expressing in the kindest terms his sense of your merits, services, and abilities; saying that he hoped an opportunity would occur of employing you to your liking in some other field, and suggesting that the letter of yesterday being kept a profound secret, you should act on the former summons,[2] and consider yourself as only waiting for a favourable season to obey it, and to come and pay your respects to his Lordship, and explain to him the state of affairs in Nepal.

"I am awaiting a further report from you before disposing of Kurbeer and his presents. I fancy Smith[3] will be dismissed soon.

"We shall have a pretty strong force ready to move on your frontier in the cold season, unless the present clouds are in the meantime entirely cleared away. Be of good cheer, and believe me, etc.,

"T. H. MADDOCK."

Meanwhile, long before either the letter of dismissal of June 21st or the soothing epistle of the 22nd could reach Nepal, Hodgson had addressed an official despatch to the Government which still further modified Lord Ellenborough's views. On June 21st, the very day when his recall was being passionately penned at Allahabad, Hodgson was calmly pointing out the measures by which a change of policy, if insisted on by the new Governor-General, could be safely accomplished. By this time Hodgson saw that what Lord Ellenborough really wanted

[1] Letter from T. H. Maddock, Esq., to B. H. Hodgson, dated Allahabad, June 22nd, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

[2] *I.e.* the summons to come in person to the Governor-General's camp.

[3] Lieutenant Smith, the Assistant-Resident, whom Hodgson had deputed to the Governor-General's camp as his substitute.

was to put an end to the active support which Lord Auckland had given to the peace party in Nepal, and to the Ministers (appointed with Lord Auckland's direct approval at the beginning of the year) who were pledged to a peace programme. Hodgson felt it his duty once more to set forth the disadvantages of such a change—a change which must throw Nepal into the hands of the war faction and bring a war Ministry into power. At the same time he showed that if time were allowed, and if arrangements were made for giving shelter to the peace Ministers within our provinces, the change could be effected without any immediate rupture. His letter, with its somewhat feeble parentheses and modifying clauses, is written in a very different tone from his plain-spoken despatches to the previous Governor-General of whose confidence and support he felt sure.

If the change of policy were determined on, he wrote on June 21st,[1] "it is difficult to contemplate the character of the present ruler of Nepal and his son, and entertain a hope that satisfactory relations with Nepal will be maintainable in their time upon the present footing; for, if relieved from their present councillors, they will speedily fall back into the arms of the Kala Pandis whose views and sentiments, as already explained, cannot, it will be seen, well admit of change, pledged as they are to the ancient polity of the kingdom, a policy more grievous to us than any ordinary war, and necessarily, too, leading to one.

"We should therefore, I apprehend, be still prepared for the worst by upholding our friends here, who, besides, in quieter times abroad might possibly successfully inoculate their sovereign or his son with their own just opinions as to the ruinous unsuitableness to the new position of Nepal, since the war, of her ancient and cherished maxims of polity.

[1] Despatch from Resident in Nepal to the Secretary to Government of India with the Governor-General, dated June 22nd, 1842, paras. 23 to 27.—Hodgson Papers.

"At all events, it is most desirable that the change from our existing policy towards Nepal to another should, if possible, be quiet and gradual, and be deferred until our affairs are adjusted with Afghanistan and China, but especially the latter, where, if we be finally and effectively victorious, I should not wholly despair of seeing the Maharaja [of Nepal] eventually subside into a preference for the maxims of the new school and contentedly acquiesce in the future guidance (for guided he must be) of his present councillors.

"Otherwise those councillors should be allowed, on their resignation, an asylum if need be in our provinces; but, short of this, their resignation, if voluntary and not too long deferred, may probably suffice for their protection here. And, indeed, if it be the Governor-General's decided determination that their peculiar connection with me do forthwith cease, I think I could so communicate that intelligence to them as to lead to their safe resignation, retaining at the same time their goodwill and voluntary unofficial good offices. . . .

"In the foregone despatch I trust I have satisfied the Right Honourable the Governor-General that there has been nothing whatever in my recent proceedings more than the natural, and necessary, and consistent sequel of what had gone before, under the direct repeated sanction and instructions of the Governor-General in Council, to whom every step of my proceedings was submitted at the moment it was made, and from whose wisdom, therefore, I might have expected the correction of any unintentional error."

The receipt of this despatch appears to have made Lord Ellenborough reflect. On July 6th he wrote a friendly private letter to Hodgson, speaking of the change of policy in the hypothetical mood, but sensibly enough remarking that "if a change of system should be adopted in treating with the Nepal Government," it had better be carried out by new men. "No testimony is, I assure you, required

to satisfy me that you are a most zealous and a very able servant of the Government; but I am certainly of opinion that, if a change of system should be adopted in treating with the Nepal Government, you are so mixed up with a party there that you would be unable to act efficiently in carrying out such new system. It would succeed better in other, even if much less able, hands."[1]

After further consideration Lord Ellenborough decided, however, that Hodgson's intimate knowledge of Nepal, and his hold on the affections of the people, made him the safest man for carrying out "the change." On July 26th he wrote an appreciative letter in his own hand to Hodgson, and a fortnight later he followed it up by a public despatch in which he expressly left it to Hodgson to take such measures as he (Hodgson) thought best to introduce the new policy.

The private letter of July 26th runs thus: "I have much reliance upon your ability and upon the extensive knowledge you possess of the Maharaja and his people; and I can have no doubt that you will, to the utmost, exert your ability and use your knowledge for the purpose of maintaining the existing relations of amity between the British Government and Nepal."[2]

The public despatch of August 8th maintains in temperate terms Lord Ellenborough's instructions for a change of policy, but leaves Hodgson to dissolve what seemed to his Excellency to be a too close connection of the British Government with the Nepal Ministry at his (Hodgson's) own time and in his own way.

"SIR,[3]—The Governor-General has again had under his

[1] Lord Ellenborough to B. H. Hodgson, dated Allahabad, July 6th, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

[2] Lord Ellenborough to B. H. Hodgson, dated Allahabad, July 26th, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

[3] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Resident in Nepal (Secret Department, No. 661), dated Allahabad, August 8th, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

consideration your letter of June 22nd, and your several other letters respecting the existing connection between you as the British Minister at the Court of Nepal and the Ministers of that State.

"2. His Lordship cannot doubt that, however temporary circumstances may have seemed to render expedient that connection, it is fraught with future evil, and should at the earliest practicable period be suffered to expire.

"3. You have been already made acquainted with the Governor-General's sentiments upon the subject.

"4. The Governor-General leaves it to your discretion to decide in what manner your conduct should be regulated so as gradually to withdraw the British Government from a false position without injury to the persons who may rely upon its support, a support really inefficacious for their protection, although its open and abrupt withdrawal might possibly involve them in new and serious danger.

"5. It is obviously impossible to give from hence precise and absolute directions as to the conduct which should be pursued with respect to a Sovereign who has more of insanity than of reason, and an Heir-apparent who is altogether insane. You must be guided by your own judgment, assisted by your long and intimate knowledge of the people of Nepal, in gradually bringing back the policy of your mission to the only safe and legitimate course, or that of abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of the State to which you are deputed, and relying for the due protection of British interests upon the knowledge entertained of British power. I have the honour to be, etc., etc. (Signed) T. H. MADDOCK, Secretary to Government of India."

Hodgson had got all he could reasonably hope for. His resistance to the new Governor-General's haste after a change of policy in Nepal ended in Lord Ellenborough leaving it to Hodgson himself to gradually and safely effect the change at the time and in the manner which Hodgson thought best. We shall presently see that

Hodgson skilfully carried out the uncongenial task thus entrusted to him. But meanwhile the governors of the British provinces in Northern India and the Supreme Council in Calcutta had not looked on unmoved at the spectacle of an experienced and a valued Representative at a Native Court being recalled in a moment of heat by the new Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough inflicted this disgrace on the man to whom his predecessor had, almost with his last words, expressed his deep obligation for the security of the Northern Indian frontier and the main line of communication during the disasters of the Afghan war. To Lord Auckland, the dexterous management of Nepal by Hodgson seemed the bright spot in the political horizon. Lord Ellenborough, as one of his first acts after he got beyond the reach of his Council, recalled Hodgson without the knowledge of his Council, and he attempted to conceal his action from his Council. He abstained from sending a copy of Hodgson's recall to the Supreme Government in Calcutta.[1] A private letter from the Foreign Secretary announcing the intended concealment is docketed in Hodgson's handwriting as follows: "I answered, July 10th, that I cared not whether Lord Ellenborough cancelled his despatch of June 21st (ejecting me) or not; but expected if that despatch were recorded, my answer to it should be so likewise." A diligent search in the India Office Records proves that that despatch, recalling Hodgson, was never brought upon the Consultations of the Government of India, nor reached the Court of Directors at home.

If such a proceeding attracted the grave disapproval of Lord Ellenborough's colleagues in Council, it excited the indignation of the governors of the British provinces and of the British representatives at Native Courts. For not one of them could be sure that his turn might not come next. Had Lord Ellenborough officially withdrawn his

[1] Letter from the Honourable Thoby Prinsep, then a Member of the Governor-General's Council, to B. H. Hodgson, dated July 18th, 1842.

public despatch of June 21st recalling Hodgson, he would have earned the praise of magnanimity for retrieving a hasty error when placed in possession of the complete facts. Had he communicated that despatch to his colleagues in Council, it would have given them the opportunity of discussing the whole question of Nepalese policy with the new Governor-General. But instead of officially recalling his public despatch or of giving his colleagues the possibility of expressing their sentiments upon it, he disarmed Hodgson's fears by a series of private letters asking him to keep the public despatch "a profound secret," and assuring Hodgson of his Excellency's high opinion as to his ability and capacity for dealing with the situation in Nepal.

Hodgson was in fact neither officially recalled nor was his resistance officially condoned. Among many letters of sympathy which he received, one of the most sensible came from the sober-minded administrator who then governed Northern India, and who had had the nearest opportunities of watching Hodgson's work. To this sagacious and responsible ruler of the British provinces adjoining Nepal, it seemed impossible that Lord Ellenborough had not clearly realised his mistake, and he advises Hodgson to treat the whole matter as a piece of petulance on the part of a new and an inexperienced Governor-General.

"Believe me," the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces wrote to Hodgson on July 22nd, 1842, "that you attach more weight and importance to the pettish effusion that has caused you so much uneasiness than it deserves. One of the most unpleasant reflections to those who, like myself, really long to see the Governor-General commence his administration well, is that he has contrived at starting to make men careless of his praise and heedless of his censure. *Haud inexpertus loquor*, for I too have come in for my share of his rebuffs; and if I were much in love with dignity, I should feel very much out of humour. As it is, though the absurdity irritates

me for a moment, it always amuses; and I find myself often constrained to laugh, even when persuaded that I ought to be angry. I am satisfied that he *now* sees that he was on the verge of falling into the tremendous blunder of provoking a war with Nepal, and will be glad enough to find that nothing more is said of the despatch intimating his displeasure at your course of policy, although his stubborn pride will not admit of his acknowledging any mistake. His prepossessions against our service are intense, and lead him into much that is unfair and foolish."[1]

This mild if contemptuous view of Lord Ellenborough's conduct was not generally adopted. It seemed to many that Lord Ellenborough had committed himself to the same devices against a high Political Officer as he had practised upon his military chiefs.[2] In regard to those devices I shall only quote the words of the politest of Indian historians in summing up Lord Ellenborough's too subtle instructions to the Commander of the army then struggling to retrieve the British honour in Afghanistan. "It is not to be believed that the Governor-General purposely framed his orders so as to screen himself in any case from blame, while he might secure some share of the praise due to successful enterprise, if enterprise should be determined on. This is not even to be imagined; but if the existence of such an intention could be credited, he might have been expected to issue instructions precisely like those which were actually transmitted by him to General Nott."[3]

[1] Letter from the Honourable J. C. Robertson, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, to B. H. Hodgson, dated July 22nd, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

[2] Even Sir Jasper Nicolls, the sagacious Commander-in-Chief whose advice, if followed, would have averted the Kabul disaster, was deprived "of the power of influencing affairs."—See Colonel W. W. Knollys' admirable memoir of Sir Jasper Nicolls, based on MS. and other contemporary sources, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XLI.

[3] *History of the British Empire in India*, by Edward Thornton, Esq., Vol. VI., p. 366 (1845).

Meanwhile Lord Ellenborough was quite willing to take any credit to himself for Hodgson's judicious treatment of the Nepalese imbroglio, although that treatment was based on the policy of the preceding Governor-General. On July 6th, 1842, the very day on which Lord Ellenborough in his letter to Hodgson had relegated his hastily ordered change of policy in Nepal to the hypothetical mood ("if a change of system should be adopted"),[1] his Excellency also wrote with his own hand to the Queen: "The Raja of Nepal has made an ample apology for his disrespectful conduct towards the British Resident at Kathmandu, and there is every present appearance of continued peace with that State."[2] In Lord Ellenborough's privately expressed opinion, therefore, Hodgson had successfully dealt with the situation upon the lines laid down by Lord Auckland; and he had so dealt with it a month before Lord Ellenborough finally determined, by his despatch of August 8th,[3] to abolish Lord Auckland's policy and to introduce a new policy of his own.

To the high officials around Lord Ellenborough it seemed, indeed, that his Excellency had sufficiently retracted his impetuous despatch to Hodgson of June 21st. "I would take the overtures now made by Lord Ellenborough," wrote a Member of his Council[4] to Hodgson on July 10th, 1842, "as earnest of a desire to make amends for past brusqueries, and perhaps as evidence of a growing opinion in favour of the particular course followed by you which has been so successful." From the Foreign Secretary in attendance on Lord Ellenborough and the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West letters followed in a similar strain.[5] "Your conduct is vindicated in the amplest manner,"

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 219.

[2] *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*, by Lord Colchester, p. 37. Ed. 1874.

[3] *Vide ante*, pp. 220, 221.

[4] The Honourable Thoby Prinsep.

[5] Letters from T. H. Maddock, dated July 11th, 1842, and from the Honourable J. C. Robertson, dated July 16th, 1842.—Hodgson MSS.

wrote Mr. Secretary Bushby on August 23rd, "and I congratulate you on this issue." Every one who knew of the matter now advised Hodgson to let it drop.

Bright times appeared to be before him. For as the army of retribution went on with its work in Afghanistan, Hodgson's difficulties in Nepal disappeared. Those difficulties had mainly arisen from the fact that the Nepalese Court well knew, during the past three years, that our whole available forces were occupied beyond the north-western frontier. The crowning successes of the British arms at Ghazni and Kabul in the summer and early autumn of 1842 set free our victorious troops for any complication in Nepal. The Nepalese war party had, moreover, been discredited by the failure of their predictions of the downfall of the British power in China and Afghanistan. Hodgson, therefore, found it possible to disengage himself from the peace Ministry in Nepal without the risk of the war party usurping the control of the King. He made the Maharaja understand that henceforth his Highness must manage his own affairs without the active support of the British Resident accorded under Lord Auckland's policy. That support had been absolutely necessary to prevent the war party in Nepal forcing a war upon the East India Company while its armies were locked up in Afghanistan. The reason for the exceptional support by the British Resident to the Maharaja and to the peace Ministry in Nepal having ceased, that exceptional support was, during the autumn of 1842, quietly withdrawn.

Hodgson succeeded in giving a simple and natural appearance to the change; yet the Maharaja felt that it imperilled not only the peace Ministry but also his personal safety. Conscious of his inability to control the insane turbulence of his son, he desired to evade the responsibility for it by an informal abdication of the throne. He wished in fact to retain the pomp of majesty without its risks and cares. The Chiefs came to Hodgson as usual for advice; so also did the Maharaja; but Hodgson would

only exercise his influence so far as to persuade both parties to a peaceable settlement among themselves. The King, finding it impossible to lean any further upon the strong arm of the Resident, and finding it equally impossible to do without the support of a firmer nature than his own, placed himself unreservedly in the hands of his wife, formerly known as the Junior Queen, but who, since the death of the Senior Rani in 1841, had become sole Queen.[1]

Meanwhile the Heir-apparent, emboldened by Hodgson's withdrawal from the sphere of influence, launched out on his atrocities with a free hand. The King showed himself powerless to control his son; and his subjects, in December 1842, began to hold tumultuous assemblies and took the matter into their own hands. "The people complained," says the official record of this revolution, "that they could not obey two masters, adducing numerous instances in which the Raja had allowed them to be punished by his son for obedience to his own commands, whilst for all the murders, maimings, beatings, and insults perpetrated by the Heir-apparent, the Maharaja had evaded authorising prevention, or making atonement in a single instance. At one of these meetings, when about eight thousand persons were present, a committee was named to draw up a petition for presentation to the Maharaja for the due protection of the legitimate rights, public and personal, of all his subjects. This petition being approved of by the country was sanctioned and ratified by the Maharaja on December 7th, amidst the loud applause of the assembled multitude."[2]

Hodgson's counsels contributed in no small measure to the peaceful result of this revolution. Within six months he had carried out Lord Ellenborough's policy of with-

[1] For the sake of clearness I shall continue to speak of her as the Junior Queen.

[2] Official Narrative of Events in Nepal, *sub anno* 1842, by Assistant Resident Lieutenant Nicholetts, para. 32.—*India Office Records.*

drawal, and he had carried it out in such a way as to avoid danger either to the Maharaja or to the peace Ministers who trusted to his support. As a matter of fact the change left the Maharaja in a stronger position than his Highness had held since the death of the old Prime Minister, Bhim Sen, in 1839, for it left him in the first flush of a good understanding between himself and his people, with the peace Ministry re-established in power, and with the strong arm of the Junior Queen to lean on.

Had Hodgson thought of his personal interests he would now have quitted the scene. He had long ago fixed 1841, or at the latest 1842, as the date of his retirement from Kathmandu. But the incessant labours and anxieties of the past three years, since the British armies entered Afghanistan, rendered it impossible for him to complete the private researches on which he was engaged for his great treatise on Nepal. He therefore desired to remain for one year more, now that the quiet of the times allowed him to resume the studies on which the fruition of his life's work depended. Lord Ellenborough seemed so satisfied with Hodgson's diplomatic successes that Hodgson could, without loss of self-respect, express his wish. He did so, and received in good faith the Governor-General's consent, unmindful of a warning conveyed by one of Lord Ellenborough's own colleagues in Council. "Lord Ellenborough," Mr. Thoby Prinsep wrote to Hodgson, "cannot but approve what you have done. But he will do so dryly, because he will like you none the better."

The Junior Queen no sooner felt herself in authority than she resolved to make her authority absolute. The year 1843 opened with the announcement to the Resident that she had been invested with political powers. Forthwith she began to intrigue for the supersession of the two surviving sons of the deceased Senior Queen in favour of her own children. How to get rid of these two lives between her eldest son and the throne became the

one object of her life. The bloody intrigues which fill the Nepalese annals during the next four years reached their acute stage after Hodgson left in 1843, and they form no part of this biography. Hodgson's successor had to stand by and see the tragical drama drag itself to its close. I pause for a moment to summarise the chief events from 1843 to 1847.

The Queen found that the peace Ministry, consisting of the royal collaterals and Brahmans—the spiritual advisers of the kingdom—were no tools for the work she had in hand. For they represented the legitimist party in Nepal, and notwithstanding the Senior Queen's hatred of them to the day of her death, they could not be seduced into setting aside the rights of her sons. The Junior Queen accordingly brought back to power Matabar Singh, nephew of the late Prime Minister Bhim Sen. That free-lance had for some time settled down to comfortable exile at Simla, on an allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month from the British Government. The Queen took advantage of his somewhat hesitating return, in 1843, to slaughter the Pandi leaders who, four years previously, had supported the Senior Queen in procuring the ruin of Bhim Sen and his house.

The official records for 1844 are a dreary narrative of commotions and decapitations.[1] Those for 1845 open with the murder of Matabar Singh, recently appointed Prime Minister for life amid the treacherous cajoleries of the King who afterwards claimed credit for firing the first shot point-blank into his body. The wounded Minister fell at his master's feet "and begged for mercy for his mother and children. But as he spoke some one struck him from behind, and as his hands were stretched out in supplication one of the attendants cut him with a sword across the wrists."[2] Next year, 1846, produced a still bloodier list of assassinations and massacres, planned by the Queen and the menial of the palace whom she had

[1] Assistant Resident Nicholetts' Confidential Summary, paras. 43 to 48.—*India Office Records.* [2] *Idem., sub anno* 1845, para. 50.

raised to favour.[1] The poor Raja quitted his kingdom under the decent pretext of expiating these murders by a joint pilgrimage with the Queen to Benares, leaving the Heir-apparent to govern as best he could.[2] The end came in 1847. The Heir-apparent seized the throne. The Queen was banished, and eventually died in exile. The Raja was deposed, and for a time shut up. He spent his remaining years as a State prisoner, while Jang Bahadur (the nephew of Matabar murdered in 1845, and grand-nephew of the great Minister Bhim Sen done to death in 1839) established himself as Prime Minister and Mayor of the Palace for life.

Such were the results of Lord Ellenborough's policy in Nepal. They bore bitter fruits for years after Lord Ellenborough had himself been recalled. In almost his last letter to the Resident whom he appointed in supersession of Hodgson, Lord Ellenborough still insisted upon that policy, and ordered the new Resident to gloss over the fact of his (Lord Ellenborough's) own recall: "My successor will do all I should have done. You may tell the Court that he has been selected, among other reasons, because he is my brother-in-law and most confidential friend."[3]

Hodgson had, happily for his own peace of mind, left long before the last acts of the tragedy. I therefore confine myself to quoting the parting words of the Heir-apparent to the King his father, when deposing him from the throne. "Your Highness, uniting with the Kala Pandis, caused General Bhim Sen Thappa to be murdered; then joining the party of the Thappas, you had the Pandis put to death. Afterwards, in conjunction with the Rani, you caused the death of Matabar Singh; again, contrary to all precedent in your dynasty of fourteen generations, you gave absolute power to the Maharani, and so caused

[1] Assistant Resident Nicholetts' Confidential Summary, *sub anno* 1846, paras. 61 to 70. [2] *Idem.*, paras. 68, 69, 73, 74.

[3] Lord Ellenborough to Major Lawrence, dated Calcutta, June 17th, 1844. Merivale's *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, Vol. II., p. 5. Ed. 1872.

the massacre at the Kot; and now, lastly, you are sending orders for the murder of the present Minister, for no offence whatever."[1]

Exactly four years before this remarkable piece of filial frankness, Lord Ellenborough dismissed Hodgson from the post of Resident. His Excellency was quite willing to take credit for the skilful treatment of Nepal, in the second half of 1842 and first months of 1843, by the man whom he had recalled by a public despatch and then privately made friends with by demi-official letters. But Lord Ellenborough, finding that no one felt disposed to give the Governor-General any credit for the success, began to nourish feelings towards Hodgson of which more than one warning was conveyed by friendly hands. In March 1843 Secretary Maddock found himself set free from the distasteful duty of acting as the mouthpiece of Lord Ellenborough's duplicities, by his appointment to the Supreme Council. Next month, with reference to Hodgson's growing uneasiness as to the value of Lord Ellenborough's private *amende* for the public letter of recall, Maddock wrote to him as follows:—

"I cannot pretend to account for the actions or policy of my late master, Lord Ellenborough. His course is too self-willed and eccentric to be guided, or explained, or reasoned with. His own way he will have as long as he rules over this country, and no other human being will be responsible for the acts of his government, for he will allow no one to share the responsibility in any degree with him. Political Officers are the objects of his special aversion, and they can only do as they are bid, and that is the only way in which they can avoid his displeasure. However, I cannot bring myself to believe that his reign over us will be of much longer duration, for all the Ministers, except the Duke of Wellington, are said to be perfectly disgusted with his arrogance and alarmed at his insanity."[2]

[1] Oldfield's *Nepal*, Vol. I., pp. 375, 376. Ed. 1880.

[2] T. H. Maddock to B. H. Hodgson, dated Calcutta, April 4th, 1843.

Three months later Lord Ellenborough dispelled every doubt as to the value to be attached to his private *amende* for the public letter of recall. Hodgson determined to bring the matter to the touch by asking the Governor-General if he might remain in Nepal during the following cold weather to finish certain researches, on the completion of which he proposed to retire from the service. Lord Ellenborough not only refused, but he based his refusal on the public letter of recall. That letter, it will be remembered, bore date June 21st, 1842.[1] It was practically withdrawn by a confidential communication from the Secretary to Government in attendance on the Governor-General the very next day, and Hodgson was counselled to keep it "a profound secret."[2] Nor had the Governor-General ever ventured to place the letter before his own Council. Yet Lord Ellenborough, with one of those strange lapses of memory which characterised his dealings with his subordinates, could now write as if the suppression of the public letter had been made against his own judgment, and apparently at the persuasion of Hodgson—of Hodgson who knew not of its existence until eight or ten days after its confidential retractation on the 22nd by the same Secretary who wrote the official letter of the 21st.

On June 2nd, 1843, Lord Ellenborough delivered the final blow. "Sir," he wrote to Hodgson, "I received your letter of the 22nd ult., intimating your wish to remain still longer at Kathmandu.

"I have already twice, against my own better judgment, acquiesced in your remaining there: first, when I consented that the public letter of animadversion upon your conduct should not be placed upon the public records, it being then distinctly understood by me that you would retire during the last cold weather; secondly, when I was further induced to consent to your remaining till the ensuing cold weather.

"I do not think it desirable that you should remain beyond that period, and I shall then appoint your successor.

[1] *Vide ante*, pp. 211, 212. [2] *Vide ante*, p. 217.

If you desire to remain on service in India, I will endeavour to find some other fit situation for you; but you ought to leave Nepal. I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

"ELLENBOROUGH."[1]

Within six weeks after Lord Ellenborough thus addressed a tried public servant, whom he had repeatedly assured of his confidence and esteem, it became publicly known that Lord Ellenborough was himself recalled by the Court of Directors.[2] His Excellency's successor did not, however, assume charge till 1844. Meanwhile during the autumn of 1843 Lord Ellenborough suddenly gazetted Major Henry Lawrence (Sir Henry) as Resident in Nepal, and appointed Hodgson to the petty post of "Assistant Sub-Commissioner at Simla."[3] Hodgson resented the insult, and in spite of the sympathising remonstrances of his friends, he resigned the service. His successor [Sir] Henry Lawrence liked the business as little as Hodgson did, and told a high officer of Lord Ellenborough's Government "that he would rather have been appointed here (*i.e.* 'Sub-Commissioner of Simla parish') than Resident in Nepal."[4] Some of Hodgson's best friends thought that he had acted as befitted his honour. "I am glad," wrote Sir George Clerk in the letter just quoted, "to see a civilian leave the country: I used for the people's sake to regret it. For I feel that he, his untiring zeal and his honest application, are no longer known or appreciated."

This was the opinion of one of the ablest Indian administrators of the nineteenth century, who shortly afterwards rose to the Governor-General's Council and the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West, rendered great services as

[1] Letter from Lord Ellenborough to B. H. Hodgson, Esq., dated June 2nd, 1843.—Hodgson Private Papers.

[2] The date is given as July 15th, 1844.—Thornton's *History of India*, Vol. VI., p. 547 (1845).

[3] *India Office MS. Records.*

[4] Sir George Russell Clerk to B. H. Hodgson, dated Simla, October 8th, 1843.—Hodgson Private Papers.

Governor of Bombay twice over, and completed a brilliant career as a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State, a K.C.B. and G.C.S.I. Sir George Clerk remained on the closest terms of affection with Hodgson to the end of their long lives. His words express the sense of discouragement which Lord Ellenborough's conduct produced among those who saw that conduct nearest at hand.

Hodgson's leave-taking with the prince and people among whom he had so long represented the British power, and whose esteem and affection he had won to a degree which they have accorded to no other Englishman, was pathetic. The Raja wrote to Lord Ellenborough, begging his Excellency not to deprive him of the adviser to whom he had all his life looked for support against the war party in Nepal. Hodgson very properly declined to transmit the letter. On its being secretly smuggled into British territory, disguised as a parcel of merchandise, Lord Ellenborough, with less propriety, declined to take notice of it.

At Hodgson's final audience with the Darbar the Raja burst into tears, and, referring to the exertions by which Hodgson had so often averted a war, called him "the Saviour of Nepal." "Then taking a jewel from his turban, he turned to Major Lawrence [who had just received over charge] and said, 'I know that it is your custom for Residents not to accept presents, but I owe so much to Mr. Hodgson's prudence and patience under many and great provocations, that I beg you will make my earnest request to the Governor-General to the effect that he may be permitted to accept this hereditary jewel of mine to become an heirloom in his own family.'" This request could not of course be complied with. But no official repression could prevent the affectionate farewells of the chiefs and people which made Hodgson's march to the frontier one long triumphal progress.

Hodgson's arrival in Calcutta was the signal for demonstrations of respect scarcely less enthusiastic, and still more

inconvenient, considering his relations towards the Governor-General. One of the Members of Council urged him "to withdraw his resignation, and we will with one voice demand from Lord Ellenborough for you the Residency at Indore as a just reward for your services." Hodgson with difficulty prevented the Council from taking action, by pleading that his resignation was an accomplished fact and his "want of health for serving on the plains."[1] In response to all such expressions of sympathy, both public and private, he let it be known that they were to him sources of embarrassment rather than of pleasure.

He could not, however, escape a great meeting which the Asiatic Society held in his honour. And with the words of the Honourable the President on that occasion, when bidding Hodgson farewell and conveying to him the request of the Society "to sit to some first-rate artist for his bust to be placed in" its Hall, I close this official section of this Life.[2]

"Mr. Hodgson sails to-morrow, and I am sure that there is not a member here present who would not have regretted the loss of the only opportunity we shall ever have of seeing him in this place, and of testifying, as far as we are able, how highly we are sensible of the credit which his labours and researches have reflected on the Society. I am aware that in alluding to them I am causing to the distinguished individual of whom I am speaking more pain than pleasure, but I hope he will forgive me, for I feel that you would all consider me as ill discharging the duties of the situation in which I have the honour to be placed, were I to allow such an occasion as this to pass without referring to those labours and those researches in terms of suitable acknowledgment.

"I confess, however, that I am quite unable to speak of

[1] Hodgson Private Papers.

[2] Presidential Address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal at a "special" meeting in honour of B. H. Hodgson, Esq., held at Calcutta on Tuesday, February 6th, 1844.—*Proceedings of the Society*, No. 62, N.S.

them as they ought to be spoken of. But of their variety and extent you may yourselves be able to form some judgment when you hear that Mr. Hodgson's contributions to the Transactions and Journal of this Society alone amount to eighty-nine distinct papers. . . .

"I will only further observe that the high reputation which Mr. Hodgson has conferred on the Society is not merely a local and an Indian one. His name, widely spread with his discoveries among the Scientific Societies of Europe, has carried with it corresponding credit to our body, as a member of which he has laboured."

So, amid the public sympathy of his brethren of the Service, the praises of his fellow-workers in the fields of private research, and the hearty good wishes of many friends, Hodgson retired from the Indian Service at the age of forty-three.

CHAPTER X.

THE DARJILING RECLUSE: 1845—1858.

HODGSON'S reception by the Court of Directors at home was equally cordial. On his arrival in the spring of 1844, he waited, as in duty bound, on the Chairman. The India House was at that moment seething with indignation against Lord Ellenborough; and Hodgson, who had no wish to be made a hero of, found himself upon the top of the wave. "Why, we will carry you back on our shoulders," was the Chairman's greeting to him. "Lord Ellenborough has been dismissed."

Hodgson explained that he had retired from the service, and although he was induced to draft a statement of his case for the Court of Directors, I find it docketed with the words "Not sent." But he had some of the original letters privately printed for his family and nearest friends. The Court could only show its regard for him by social civilities. It asked him to a public dinner given in honour of its most distinguished Indian servants shortly after his return to London, "and drank his health amid the acclamations of some two hundred gentlemen, including the Minister for India."[1]

I have refrained from offering an opinion as to the wisdom or unwisdom of Hodgson in resigning the service. But there can be no question as to the judiciousness of the attitude which he now adopted. Any young gentleman in the Secretariat could have found a way out of a difficulty with a Governor-General so impetuous as Lord

[1] The President of the Board of Control.—Hodgson MSS.

Ellenborough with his unbalanced mind yet by no means ungenerous heart—and lived to smile at the little episode from the heights of future success. More than one of Hodgson's friends urged him to take a year's furlough and let Lord Ellenborough run out his brief course. But Hodgson had not the adroitness of headquarters. Twenty-four years of isolation had made his high-strung and somewhat haughty nature still more sensitive. When wounded by what he regarded as injustice and ingratitude, he could not help showing that he felt it. Nor did he understand the light foil-play of the Secretariat school-of-arms. In resigning the service he made a somewhat needlessly emphatic protest against a piece of unfairness in high places which a defter official would have taken as a by no means extraordinary incident in even a prosperous career. But a man is what he is by having a nature. Hodgson acted in a way consonant with his nature, and from a conviction, perhaps the exaggerated conviction of a too solitary man, that the protest was due to his own honour and to the honourable service to which he belonged. It may be doubted, moreover, if a man who could bend to a storm would have achieved what the combined simplicity and firmness of Hodgson accomplished in Nepal.

But whether he acted wisely or unwisely for himself, the world was the clear gainer. There are always a score of men in the India Civil Service who make excellent Residents at Native Courts. But there was then only one man in India who could do the work which Hodgson was destined, during the next fifteen years, to accomplish for Oriental literature and science. I do not think he at any moment seriously regretted that, while still in the prime of manhood, he gave up his whole life to the studies which bore so rich a fruitage. From time to time, usually at the prompting of some enthusiastic or too zealous admirer, he felt a little hurt at the non-recognition of his work by the English Government, as compared with the honours showered upon him by foreign countries. But as, even

in the first bitter moments, he got rid of his indignation against Lord Ellenborough by writing a statement of his case and then locking it up in his desk, so he shrank from giving public expression to any sense of neglect during his long subsequent life of fifty years.

Meanwhile he had ample consolations of the kind dearest to his heart in his welcome home. Hodgson had the rare good fortune to find, at the end of his quarter of a century of Indian service, both his parents alive. After a happy time with his father and mother in their Canterbury house, he paid a visit to his beloved sister Fanny, now the Baroness Nahuys. She and her husband who, as I have mentioned, became Governor of one of the Seven Provinces of Holland, were living at Arnhem. In this pleasant Rhine town, with its traces of the ancient Roman sway, its fortifications then surviving from mediæval times, and its more recent memories of the siege of 1813, Hodgson became a living reality to the sister whom he had left as a child of eight. The admiration which she had long given him was now warmed into the love for which he craved, and settled down into a deep and enthusiastic affection.

But before the first year of his retirement passed, Hodgson began to feel that idleness was for him impossible. He could not rest from labour, and he began to turn wistful eyes to the land in which alone he could complete his life's work. A project for buying the small estate of Swiscoe as a home for himself and his parents fell through, partly from the insufficiency of his means, and partly because of the necessity which he felt to finish his Himalayan researches. That constraining necessity told on his powers of enjoying his present surroundings, and urged him forth once more to the scene of his labours in the East.

In October 1844, even amid the hospitalities of Arnhem, he wrote to his father[1]: "This will never do, and I had far better return to India than continue thus a source of pain

[1] Letter dated Arnhem, October 17th, 1844.

to those I love best as well as to myself. Accordingly I have nearly decided to return, and the sooner, I think, the better. . . . The mere going the round of Scientific Societies could never satisfy me. Indeed I look with a sort of disgust on that kind of thing." He feels the necessity of plunging again into the study of nature at first hand, and proposes "to keep up the requisite intercourse with the scientific bodies in Europe" by presents of specimens and drawings as before.

Meanwhile he entrusted to his father the task of having his zoological collections arranged by a skilled sorter. The father set a man to work on the skins and bones, but with a heavy heart, and a deep sense of the solitude which his son's departure would bring into his life. "My dearest Father," Hodgson tries to comfort him a few weeks later, "I cannot think of your being alone and in low spirits without a fresh pang, sad as my heart is, and the more so because its sadness is necessarily communicated to you. Now if you say the word, I shall at once hurry to Canterbury. I must rid you of the heap of trash wherewith I have burdened the barracks, and if I do no more, that will be well done."[1]

The result may be gathered from a letter to Hodgson from the Trustees of the British Museum in the following month, expressing themselves "deeply obliged for the valuable series of skins and drawings which you have already presented to the Museum, as well as for the liberal offer now made of completing the series. This offer the Trustees will thankfully accept, and will instruct the proper officer to proceed to Canterbury whenever it may be convenient to you for the purpose of making the selection for the Museum, and of giving you such aid as he can, consistently with his other public duties, in sorting the specimens to be distributed to other public institutions."[2]

[1] Dated Arnhem, November 24th, 1844.

[2] Letter from J. Forshall, Secretary to the Trustees, dated British Museum, December 20th, 1844.

Professor Owen also came down to Canterbury to make a selection from Hodgson's presentations to the College of Surgeons.

Having thus disposed of his collections, it only remained for Hodgson to present his departure in a hopeful light to the loved ones whom he must leave behind. "My dearest Father," he wrote, inviting his father to join him during a few days' absence in London while arranging with the Trustees of the British Museum, "Thanks for your affectionate letter. It is almost worth while being away from you in order to get such truly kind letters. God ever bless you, and believe me that I would not willingly give you pain for the world. It was and is because my invincible depression afflicted all your kind hearts that it seemed to me necessary to put an end to it. You know I can soon be back [from India], and probably shall be so. You speak as if my going were not only evil but irremediable: not so, my dearest father; two months will at any time bring me back."[1]

He had partly won over his sister Fanny to the project, and she seems to have helped him in winning his parents' assent. "Dearest Fan," he wrote to her three days later,[2] "I am right proud to think I have won the entire esteem and love of so good and sensible a person as you are. Amid a thousand griefs and disappointments that press me to the earth, this idea alone elevates and consoles me. God ever bless you, my darling sister, and believe me that all your kindly feelings towards me are fully reciprocated by me towards you. I bless you and ever shall while I live, wherever my lot is cast.

"I must away to resume and complete my researches where alone they can be satisfactorily completed. For my hurried departure [from Nepal] amid overpowering vexations caused all my papers and other materials to be dissipated and dislocated, and I can collect the fragments

[1] Letter dated December 18th, 1844.

[2] Dated December 21st, 1844.

in India alone. It will cost me but a couple of years. Even if I fail I may be quieted by the reflection that failure came not till every effort had been made to avert it. If I succeed I shall come back comforted and strengthened to encounter the new life of Europe."

Why multiply these touching mementos of his last days at home? I have ventured to reproduce one or two of them, as they show the deep and untarnished affection of the man of forty-five for the loved ones from whom he had been severed during a quarter of a century. In 1845 the parting came, and I shall only quote his farewell words to his sister Fanny, dated "On Board" from Cork Harbour:—

"Words cannot tell what I owe you. In my dark hour you were my guardian angel, and in subsequent hours your sweet words and looks gave me to taste the only pleasure I have known for years. Whilst I breathe I shall cherish the memory of your tenderness. What a sweet and holy thing is true affection! There is nothing else worth living for, and would to God I could dedicate the remainder of my life to winning and repaying it in a home of my own. Dear, dear Fanny, I owe you much for having opened my heart to a full sense of the loveliness of the heart's best emotions; and even if mine must now again be locked up as they had been, the very memory of their momentary indulgence will cast a sacred halo around my future life. I do not think I shall be able to exist as heretofore, and if this necessity of being beloved should draw me home again, to you my return will be owing. . . . I sigh to think what a luxury it must be to love and be loved. Nothing like the hand of Woman for binding up a stricken heart; and as for me, I never hear a tone that is soft and sounds like affection but it seems to me a voice from Heaven—yes, literally a voice from Heaven."

So Hodgson returned as a private student to India in 1845. His first idea was to complete his researches in

the regions in which they had been begun. But the Indian authorities did not see their way to permit him to return as a private person to Nepal, where he had so long lived in a public capacity. There can be no question that the decision was a wise one, and Hodgson, although disappointed, soon recognised its wisdom. He fixed his abode in a part of the Himalayas which had come under British influence, but which closely resembled Nepal in regard to its climate, its physical conditions, and animal and plant life.

During the next thirteen years the hill-station of Darjiling was Hodgson's self-appointed home. The fruitful labours of those years will occupy the concluding chapters of this book. But as I endeavoured, before entering on his official services in Nepal, to exhibit the man as apart from his work, so now I should like to briefly show what manner of life he led at Darjiling ere I embark upon its results to the world.

The narrative must be a brief one. But before recurring to Hodgson's private letters, perhaps I ought to show how his life and work at Darjiling appeared to a calm and competent eye-witness. Sir Joseph Hooker, then a young naturalist in the first enthusiasm of the scientific travels which have given him a unique place among Englishmen of our day, thus speaks of Hodgson in his *Himalayan Journals*[1]:—

"Mr. Hodgson's high position as a man of science requires no mention here. But the difficulties he overcame, and the sacrifices he made, in attaining that position, are known to few. He entered the wilds of Nepal when very young and in indifferent health, and finding time to spare, cast about for the best method of employing it. He had no one to recommend or direct a pursuit, no example to follow, no rival to equal or surpass. He had never

[1] *Himalayan Journals, or Notes of a Naturalist*, by Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, K.C.S.I., C.B., F.R.S., p. xi, ed. 1854, and p. xiii, Minerva Edition of 1891.

been acquainted with a scientific man, and knew nothing of science except the name. The natural history of men and animals, in its most comprehensive sense, attracted his attention; he sent to Europe for books, and commenced the study of ethnology and zoology. His labours have now extended over upwards of twenty-five years' residence in the Himalaya. During this period he has seldom had a staff of less than from ten to twenty persons (often many more), of various tongues and races, employed as translators and collectors, artists, shooters, and stuffers.

"By unceasing exertions and a princely liberality, Mr. Hodgson has unveiled the mysteries of the Buddhist religion, chronicled the affinities, languages, customs, and faiths of the Himalayan tribes, and completed a natural history of the animals and birds of these regions. His collections of specimens are immense, and are illustrated by drawings and descriptions taken from life, with remarks on the anatomy, habits, and localities of the animals themselves. Twenty volumes of the Journals and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal teem with the proofs of his indefatigable zeal; and throughout the cabinets of the birds and quadruped departments of our national Museum, Mr. Hodgson's name stands pre-eminent. A seat in the Institute of France, and the cross of the Legion of Honour, prove the estimation in which his Buddhist studies are held on the Continent of Europe. To be welcomed to the Himalaya by such a person, and to be allowed the most unreserved intercourse, and the advantage of all his information and library, exercised a material influence on the progress I made in my studies, and on my travels. When I add that many of the subjects treated of in these volumes were discussed between us, it will be evident that it is impossible for me to divest much of the information thus insensibly obtained of the appearance of being the fruits of my own research."

The earlier years of Hodgson's life at Darjiling were

KINCHINJINGA FROM BRIANSTONE, DARJILING

very solitary ones. "I read and read," he says in a letter[1] to his sister Fanny, "and write and read. My subjects are Ethnology and Zoology and Education—all ample fields and yet enough untrodden to render intelligent truthful labours permanently valuable. And such I trust will be mine. I will send you a copy of my work on Education, and also one of the several Essays on the Aborigines. But of Zoology you will not care to hear, though even that can be made rational and pleasant, and for my part, in the study of nature I find an extreme comfort and pleasure. The thing is so truthful, calm, and real, as I pursue it not in books but in actual subjects."

In these first years at Darjiling he again suffered from a recurrence of the maladies which had distressed him in Nepal. Against these maladies he bore up with unshaken courage, eking out the powers of a fever-shaken constitution by the most abstemious diet, and by an almost absolute retirement from the world. In the spring of 1848 he had the great happiness of being joined by Dr. Hooker, who was then engaged on the researches embodied in his *Himalayan Journals*. In the autumn he gave his sister Fanny a graphic description of his home and its surroundings.[2]

"I have still my accomplished and amiable guest, Dr. Hooker, with me, and am even thinking of accompanying him on an excursion to the foot of the snows. Our glorious peak Kinchinjinga proves to be the loftiest in the range and consequently in the world, being 28,178 feet above the sea.[3] Dr. Hooker and I wish to make the nearer acquaintance of this king of mountains, and we propose, if we can, to slip over one of the passes into Tibet in order to measure the height of that no less unique plateau, and also to examine the distribution of plants and animals in these

[1] Dated Darjiling, December 5th, 1847.

[2] Letter dated Darjiling, September 25th, 1848.

[3] Written before Mount Everest was finally ascertained to be 29,003 feet above sea-level.

remarkable mountains which ascend from nearly the sea-level, by still increasing heights and corresponding changes of climate, to the unparalleled elevation above spoken of.

"Dr. Hooker is young in years but old in knowledge, has been at the Antarctic Pole with Ross, and is the friend and correspondent of the veteran Humboldt. He says our Darjiling botany is a wondrous mixture of tropical and northern forms, even more so than in Nepal and the western parts of the Himalayan ranges; for we have several palms and tree-ferns and Cycases and Musas (wild plantain), whereas to the westward there are few or none of these. Cryptogamous plants abound yet more here than there, especially fungi. Every old tree is loaded with them and with masses of lichens, and is twined round by climbing plants as big as itself, whilst *Orchideæ* or air plants put forth their luscious blossoms from every part of it.

"Dr. Hooker has procured ten new species of rhododendrons, one of which is an epiphyte, and five palms and three Musas and three tree-ferns and two Cycases. These are closely juxtaposed to oaks, chestnuts, birches, alders, magnolias, Michelias, Oleas, all of enormous size. To them I must add rhododendrons, including the glorious epidendric species above spoken of, and whose large white blossoms depend from the highest branches of the highest oaks and chestnuts. Laurels too abound with me as forest trees, and a little to the north are the whole coniferous family, Pinus, Picea, Abies, with larch and cedar and cypress and juniper, all represented by several species and nearly all first-rate for size and beauty. Then my shrubs are Camelias and Daphnes and Polygonums and dwarf bamboos; and my herbaceous things, or flowers and grasses, bluebells, geraniums, Cynoglossum, Myriactis, Gnaphalium, with nettles, docks, chickweeds, and such household weeds.

"I wish, Fan, you were here to botanise with Dr. Hooker; for I am unworthy, having never heeded this

branch of science, and he is such a cheerful, well-bred youthful philosopher that you would derive as much pleasure as profit from intercourse with him. Go and see his father Sir William Hooker at the Royal Gardens at Kew."

"I am living here," wrote Sir James Colvile when on a visit to Hodgson in 1847, "in a Babel of tribes and nations, and, to make them more interesting, I am living with an eminent ethnologist, who for more than twenty-five years has had, and profited by, peculiar opportunities of studying the varieties of men that inhabit the Sub-Himalaya. He is Mr. Hodgson (better known to the world in general as a naturalist), who for many years was our Resident in Nepal, and then occupied his leisure in these researches. He was, notwithstanding, an excellent public servant." After referring to Lord Ellenborough's supersession of Hodgson as "one of the most wanton acts of his capricious tyranny," Sir James Colvile goes on to say: "Hodgson in disgust, unfortunately for himself, resigned the service. Had he not done so he would probably by this time have found his way back to Nepal. As it is, not feeling comfortable in Europe, he has returned to these hills and continues, but with crippled means, his scientific labours as a private gentleman. . . . I have learned more about India from him in these few weeks than I have learned at Calcutta in nearly two years."[1]

These quiet years at Darjiling enabled Hodgson to save money. His comparative poverty during his first brief visit home, he wrote to his sister Fanny,[2] was "to the full as much owing to my early and continued aids to members of my family as to the sudden and unlooked for termination of a brilliant career, which could not have been run at all on parsimonious principles, and which was run so

[1] Letter from Sir James Colvile, Chief Justice of Bengal, to Monkton Milnes, dated Darjiling, October 11th, 1847.—*Life of Lord Houghton*, by T. Wemyss Reid, Vol. I., p. 382. Ed. 1890.

[2] Letter dated Darjiling, August 10th, 1848.

successfully as to keep us all afloat from the second year of my service. My brothers consumed a great deal of my money, so much that William grew actually remorseful at last, and would have Edward only and not me to sign that bond for £1,000, which, however, as usual it fell on me to pay. Personally, I have ever been all simplicity in my habits."

Now his poor brothers lay in Indian graveyards, and he had only his parents to help. His own hermit life at Darjiling could not have cost above a few hundred pounds a year, and another few hundred would maintain a score of bird-stuffers, hunters, and native assistants for his zoological collections. So the process of accumulation at last began.

How simple and unworldly was that life, with its intensity of isolated devotion to noble pursuits in spite of ill-health, may be realised from some reminiscences which Sir Joseph Hooker has kindly written out for me. Seldom has one great naturalist seen another thus eye-to-eye, or spoken of him so directly from the heart. Any attempt to put his impressions into my words would lessen their interest. In the following pages, therefore, I leave his manuscript narrative to speak for itself as

SIR JOSEPH HOOKER'S RECOLLECTIONS OF HODGSON'S DARJILING DAYS.

I owed my introduction to Mr. Hodgson to the good offices of our mutual friend the late Sir James Colvile, then Advocate-General, Calcutta, and President of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

I arrived at Darjiling in the spring of 1848. Hodgson received me cordially, and invited me to make his house my headquarters; to share his table and make every use of his valuable library, which was rich in works relating to the Himalaya, Nepal, and Tibet. Thus I had the advantage, at the outset of my explorations, of the counsel

and hospitality of the man who was *facile princeps* in respect of knowledge of the Eastern Himalaya, its peoples, products, and natural history. From the above date till early in 1850, when I left Sikkim, my intercourse with Mr. Hodgson was uninterrupted.

Hodgson was then in his forty-ninth year. After retiring from the service and visiting England, he returned to India with the view of continuing his researches in the Ethnography and Zoology of Northern India. He selected as his residence Darjiling, then a little-known locality in an unknown country. He had three good reasons for his choice. It promised him absolute freedom from the trammels of society. It was in a central position in respect of the field of his future labour. His old friend and medical attendant, Dr. Campbell, who had been also his assistant at the Nepal Residency, had lately been appointed Superintendent of Darjiling and to the political charge of our relations with the State of Sikkim.

Hodgson's dwelling was in a narrow clearing of the majestic forest that then clothed the mountains of Sikkim on every side, and crept up to the very walls of the few houses of which the station consisted. It was a modest bungalow afterwards called Bryanstone,[1] of the ordinary Anglo-Indian type, with two rooms (dining-room and sitting-room) in front; two bedrooms with bath-room behind; a verandah in front and on the sides; and supplementary sleeping apartments and offices in the rear. Occupying the slope of a ridge over 8,000 feet high, facing the north at an elevation of 7,500 feet, it commanded a view of the snowy Himalaya unrivalled for grandeur and extent. Immediately in front at about forty-seven miles distant, Kinchinjinga, one of the three loftiest mountains in the globe, rears itself to 28,178 feet above the sea-level, and 20,000 feet above that of Bryanstone. From its vast

[1] At first named Herbert Hill, after Sir Herbert Maddock who had built it as a residence for himself, and from whom Hodgson bought it in 1847.—W. W. H.

shoulders the perpetually snowed range is continued east and west for about seventy miles, without the smallest break of the snow-line even in the height of summer. It is a wonderful panorama, startling in its effect when first revealed by the rising mists on a cloudless morning. The eye spans the intervening gulf of interlacing ranges, divided by rushing streams and clothed with tropical forests, until it is arrested by the dazzling amphitheatre of silvery crests.

During the whole of my two years' stay at Sikkim, Nepal, and Himalaya, Hodgson was an invalid, suffering from the effects of fevers contracted in Nepal and from incurable sleeplessness. He often told me that he did not know what sleep was, so active was his mind and so brief were the snatches of repose which nature must have demanded, and which no doubt she obtained, however little the patient was conscious of it. He slept in one of the supplementary apartments alluded to above, and not unfrequently passed days and even weeks there, during which I never saw him except to give some simple remedies for his distressing ailment.

Ever since his arrival at Darjiling he had lived the life of a hermit. With the exception of a short visit from Sir James Colvile and his sister, he had received no visitor until my advent. Nor had he admitted to his house any one in the station except his old friend Dr. Campbell. The latter informed me that his Nepal life would have been almost equally one of solitude but for the society of the most intellectual of the high-caste Nepalese of the Court, and of the learned Lamas of Kathmandu and especially of Tibet, the latter of whom made frequent visits to him in Nepal.

During the rainy season of 1848 we were very much together, and I remember no more delightful hours of my life than the evenings we spent chatting over our cheroots by the light of the wood fire, with the pile of logs for fuel alongside, gleaming with lambent light from the presence

of a phosphorescent fungus in the decaying bark—to us a constant source of wonderment and speculation. This may not now be so frequent a phenomenon in the forests of Sikkim as it was half a century ago, before the reckless clearances took place which have resulted in the modification of the climate. At the period referred to, it was often difficult to get one's pony to pass the piles of logs stacked by the wayside, so bright was the light they emitted.

There was no "skating over thin ice" in our discussions and controversies. He encouraged me to dispute his theories, especially on the structure and geology and glaciation of the Himalaya and Tibet. He viewed these from his wide reading and his experience in the Valley of Nepal; I, from what I had seen in the Antarctic regions and elsewhere. We kept early hours, though what they were I do not clearly recollect. Breakfast was I think at eight, dinner about three, and tea at eight, with nothing between. The forenoon was devoted to study, and we rode for a couple of hours late in the afternoon. Except when he went down to the plains for a few months in winter to escape the cold and damp of Darjiling, he never once to my knowledge walked a yard from his home.

On leaving Nepal Hodgson gave up his studies in Buddhist Literature, and confined his attention to the four subjects which he pursued with ardour at Darjiling. Those were the furtherance of Vernacular Education in India; the study of the Races of Northern India and their languages; the physical geography of the Himalaya and Tibet; and the zoology, especially the ornithology, of Sikkim. Of these subjects the last was probably the least prolific in results. For in the first place the zoology of Sikkim is not materially different from that of Nepal, which he had for twenty years so diligently and successfully explored. In the second place the ubiquity and density of the Sikkim forest, the sparseness of its population and the humidity of its climate, are obstacles to the collection and preservation of specimens. In the third

place the religion of the country being Buddhist, the Lamas taught, and the as yet unsophisticated people believed, that the taking of life would be followed by disasters to their flocks and crops.

During my travels in the interior I was accompanied by a couple of Hodgson's trained huntsmen for the purpose of procuring specimens for him, and it was a source of vexation to me that I could do so little for a friend who did so much for me. But what could I do but comply when, on arriving at a village with good sporting ground around, I was met by a troop of Lamas from the Buddhist monastery bringing presents, with the request that my attendants should not shoot or even fish within the range of their spiritual functions?

Returning to the chimney-corner of Bryanstone, an inexhaustible source of conversation was provided by the volumes of the *Asiatic Society's Transactions*, the *Gleanings in Science*, and the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*. I made a point of reading every article that I could at all understand. These repertories of half a century of Oriental literature and science Hodgson was ever ready to talk over with me, thus adding tenfold to their interest and instructiveness. It was delightful to find him so thoroughly acquainted with the writings of his predecessors and so enthusiastic an admirer of them. As regards the *Gleanings in Science*, established in 1829 by his friend the lamented James Prinsep (one of the most brilliant geniuses that India ever knew, but cut off after a brief career), and the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, no one contributed so largely to their contents as Hodgson; no fewer than a hundred and eighty papers, the latest dated 1858, bearing his name as author.

It was, however, towards extending the benefits of Vernacular Education to the natives of India that Hodgson's energies were principally directed during my stay in Sikkim. To that end, amongst other of his projects, a leading one was the construction of an Atlas of Physical

Geography suited for schools. In this I had the gratification of co-operating with him, and many and long were our discussions upon the nature and extent of the work. They resulted in his asking me to communicate his views to Baron Humboldt, with the request that, if he approved of the plan proposed, he would indicate an author competent to supply an elementary treatise on the physics of the globe with maps. At the same time he offered a liberal gratuity in advance for authorship out of his own pocket, and procured subscriptions among his friends to provide for its translation into the vernacular. Baron Humboldt recommended as author a man distinguished for his knowledge of the subject, and who accepted the commission, but never completed the work. One half was supplied: it was long and learned enough, but totally unsuited to the requirements; and as a further gratuity was demanded for its completion, the project in the contemplated form had to be abandoned.

This leads me to the subject of the Physical Geography of the Himalaya, upon which our discussions were long and often animated, for we differed considerably in our conceptions of the structure of the chain and its relations to the geography of the countries adjacent to it. His own conclusions were communicated to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* whilst I was still in Sikkim, in a very remarkable and learned essay, wherein the whole subject of the mountain and its river-systems, peoples, and productions is treated with a fulness of knowledge of which I had not a fraction.

In the early spring of 1849, I spent a fortnight with Hodgson in the *Tarai* and plains at the foot of the Sikkim Himalaya. It was the only excursion we took together, and a very enjoyable one it was. The *Tarai* at that time formed a belt of jungle about ten miles in breadth, virulently malarious in summer, and always swarming with wild animals. It was in this tract that Lady Canning was struck down in 1851 by the fever which carried her

off, brought on by a few hours' halt in the forest for the purpose of sketching. It has since been opened up and much of its forest is replaced by tea-plantations. Having horses and tents, we passed the time most agreeably in shooting, botanising, and zoologising. Except a violent earthquake at Titalya, a delightful sail in double canoes down the rapids of the Tista river in the gorge where it leaves the mountains, and the cheering fact that Hodgson threw off most of his ailments for the time, there were no incidents of the trip of any moment to record.

It remains to say that I cannot convey any adequate idea of the amount of active interest which Hodgson took in the success of my Sikkim explorations, of his solicitude for my welfare, health, and comfort during the many months that I was cut off from intercourse with any but natives. I owe it entirely to his personal influence with the late Sir Jang Bahadur that I was permitted in 1848-9 to travel in Eastern Nepal, over ground never before or since traversed by any European, and to visit the jealously guarded passes of the Nepalese Tibet frontier. He further exhausted every effort to persuade the same potentate to allow me to spend the season of 1850 in going through the Himalaya from Sikkim to Kathmandu. In this Hodgson supplemented the strong representations in my favour made by Lord Dalhousie. Their joint efforts would, I believe, have been successful, were it not that Jang Bahadur urged that he was about to visit England, and could not be responsible during his absence for my personal safety in a kingdom where jealousy of Europeans was a universal feeling, and where his own tenure of power was precarious.

Nor were Hodgson's good offices confined to helping me in my work alone. During my travels in Sikkim I was dependent on Darjiling for food-supplies for myself and my people, as the Sikkim Raja had issued orders that neither grain nor flesh was to be sold to me. Thanks to the energy of Dr. Campbell (the Superintendent), parties

of coolies were organised to carry food to me from Darjiling with more or less of regularity—a most difficult task during the rains when the unbridged torrents and malarious valleys rendered transport tedious and dangerous. Never one such party arrived without letters, newspapers, and often books from Hodgson, and a liberal addition to my commissariat of good things from his cellar and larder.

With these recollections of Sir Joseph Hooker, I close the personal aspects of Hodgson's life at Darjiling. In 1853 Hodgson made a short visit to his relatives in England and Holland, and became attached to Miss Anne Scott, daughter of General Henry Alexander Scott, R.A. Her family had during several generations rendered valuable service to their country, and the early death of her brother Robert closed prematurely what promised to be a distinguished public career. Hodgson married Miss Scott at the British Embassy at the Hague, both families being then abroad. A few weeks later he started again for Darjiling with his wife. The four years which followed were the happiest he ever spent in India. He found at length that companionship and sympathy for which he had so long pined.

During his later years at Darjiling he had the gratification of being invited by Sir Jang Bahadur, the all-powerful Minister in Nepal, to direct the education of his son-in-law, then heir-apparent to the throne. The young prince was sent to Darjiling to be under Hodgson's eye. The friendly relations thus maintained by Hodgson with the Nepalese Court bore good fruit during the Mutiny of 1857. Hodgson accompanied his wife, when in ill-health, to Calcutta and availed himself of his personal intercourse with Lord Canning to advocate the acceptance of a Gurkha contingent from Nepal. The task was a somewhat delicate one. Hodgson knew well that any open

action taken by him as a private person might give offence to our Resident at Kathmandu. He also found a strong feeling in Government House against trusting the Nepalese proffers of aid. "You praise these Gurkhas like your husband," said Lady Canning to Mrs. Hodgson, "but I can assure you that they are looked on here as being little better than the rebels."

In May 1857 Jang Bahadur, on hearing of the outbreak of the Mutiny, placed the whole military resources of Nepal at the disposal of the British Government. Lord Canning after some hesitation accepted a contingent of 3,000 Gurkhas in June, but his acceptance was a half-hearted one and left a feeling of disappointment on Jang Bahadur's mind. Some correspondence took place between him and Hodgson, partly through the medium of his son-in-law, the heir-apparent and Hodgson's late pupil whom Jang Bahadur had charged Hodgson "to treat as your own son." In the end Jang Bahadur arranged that his son-in-law should meet Hodgson in Calcutta in the autumn, when the Jang was determined to again press his army and his personal service on the Governor-General. Owing to new complications the meeting did not take place, but Hodgson proceeded to Calcutta in October 1857 and urged on Lord Canning a frank acceptance of Jang Bahadur's offer.

The friendship of the Chief Justice of Bengal, with whom Hodgson was staying, afforded him frequent access to the Governor-General and we get a pleasant glimpse of more than one interview with Lady Canning. "Aunt Caledon's[1] friends, the Hodgsons, came to see me," Lady Canning writes on November 4th, 1857. "I was delighted with Mr. H. He is clever and amusing and very quaint. He has the highest opinion of Gurkhas, and considers them the best soldiers in the world in all ways,

[1] The Countess of Caledon, to whose family Mrs. Hodgson was related.

especially for discipline, provided no one interferes with their domestic concerns."[1]

"I urged," Hodgson wrote in one of his private papers, "the great value, negative and positive, of the proffered aid of Nepal for putting down the Mutiny. I said that I was not unaware of the suspicions generally entertained of the [Nepalese] Darbar, but that I nevertheless felt convinced, if the Jang were fairly trusted and put into the hands of a representative of his Lordship having tact, experience and a liking for the Gurkhas, good faith would be kept with us, some useful military service done for us, and above all in importance at such a moment, the spectacle exhibited of the Hindu State *par excellence* in alliance and co-operation with us.

"I then pointed to the great ability of the Jang, as demonstrated by that wonderful career which had made him the virtual ruler of his country, and to the opportunities for rightly estimating our power which the Jang had enjoyed during his visit to England. Such ability concurring with such opportunity, I continued, could hardly be at fault, and the exigencies of the Jang's position must make a personal connection with us of value to him. That, further, a man of the Jang's talents could not have noted in vain the risks his country had run in times past from collision with a Power which again and again he had seen rise superior to every difficulty. Lastly, I pointed out to Lord Canning that Nepal most eagerly coveted the restoration of the Western Tarai. Recent events had placed it at our disposal; and the prospect of the grant of it to Nepal, while it might form a tie on the Jang, would offer to us the means of most conveniently rewarding the Darbar for faithful service."[2]

Lord Canning, after a careful official inquiry, accepted this view. He gratified Hodgson by telling him that he

[1] Lady Canning's Journal, November 4th, 1857: quoted in *The Story of Two Noble Lives*, by Augustus J. C. Hare, Vol. II., p. 339. Ed. 1893.

[2] Hodgson Papers.

had selected one of Hodgson's personal friends, Sir George MacGregor, as the British officer to be attached to Jang Bahadur during the joint military operations. Indeed Sir George himself wrote to Hodgson that he believed not only his own appointment but the whole scheme practically resulted from Hodgson's insistence with Lord Canning. A new arrangement[1] was come to with Jang Bahadur under which he himself marched into our disaffected territories with a force that ultimately formed a complete little army of 17,000 men. The valuable work done by that force under Jang Bahadur's leadership is recorded in history.[2] It suffices here to note that Lord Canning's orders to Brigadier MacGregor to join Jang Bahadur's army, as representative of the Government of India during the joint operations, were dated December 4th, 1857, exactly one month after Lady Canning's entry in her journal.

The development of the Gurkha regiments in the British service after the Mutiny, on the lines so long urged by Hodgson, forms one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of our Indian army. I have dwelt on the earlier stages of that development in a previous chapter.[3] The old local battalions constructed out of the conquered or disbanded Nepalese troops after the war of 1815 had been embodied into three Gurkha regiments by Lord Dalhousie in 1850. Hodgson's representations backed by the opinions of Lord Canning's military advisers led to the formation of the 4th Gurkha Regiment in 1857.[4] The battalion which afterwards became the 5th Gurkha Regiment was raised in the following year. Our whole Gurkha

[1] Colonel Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 321 *et seq.*, Vol. II. Ed. 1879. I thank Colonel Malleson for kind aid in this part of my work.

[2] Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor-General to Colonel MacGregor, C.B., dated Calcutta, December 4th, 1857.

[3] *Vide ante*, pp. 106-110, etc.

[4] It appears from the Hodgson Papers that he was also in Calcutta in June 1857, and it seems probable that he began at once to urge the capabilities of the Gurkhas on Lord Canning.

force was reorganised on a permanent regimental basis in 1861 as a result of the lesson learned in 1857. With subsequent additions it now numbers fifteen regiments, nearly 14,000 strong, of whom about 13,000 are Gurkhas and the remainder hillmen from neighbouring tribes.[1]

At the end of the chapter I shall give a note showing in detail the growth of the Gurkha regiments in the army of British India. Hodgson's idea, which he had urged in vain in 1832,[2] and for which he obtained a partial acceptance in 1850 and 1857, has borne abundant fruit. Throughout the past quarter of a century wherever there has been hard fighting to be done by our Indian troops, or wherever honour could be earned, the Gurkha regiments have been to the front, conspicuous for their gallantry and light-hearted endurance of the perils and privations of the campaign.

During his last years in Bengal Hodgson had the pleasure of seeing the practical realisation of another of his cherished schemes. In 1854-55 the views which he had long advocated in regard to vernacular education were adopted as the basis of public instruction in India. Unfortunately in 1857 his wife's health gave way, and she had to leave for Europe. As the doctors could hold out no hope of her ever again being able to bear the climate, Hodgson gave up his life's work at Darjiling and returned to England for good and all in the summer of 1858.

Note on the Growth of the Gurkha Regiments in the British-Indian Army.[3]

1st Gurkha Regiment.—The Nusseree Battalion was raised on April 24th, 1815, and was in 1850 designated the 66th Gurkha Regiment of Bengal Light Infantry, taking the place of the 66th Bengal Infantry,

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[1] A return kindly supplied to me by General Sir Oliver Newmarch, K.C.S.I., Military Secretary at the India Office, gives the exact total of the Gurkha regiments at 13,734 in February 1895.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 109.

[3] From information furnished by the Military Department in the India Office, 1895.

which was disbanded for mutiny. This became the 1st Gurkha Regiment in 1861, and a 2nd Battalion was added in 1886. A new Nusseree Battalion was formed in 1850, and disbanded on the reduction of the army in 1861.

2ND GURKHA REGIMENT.—The Sirmoor Rifle Regiment was raised on April 24th, 1815, and was made a Gurkha regiment in 1850. It was called the 2nd Gurkha Regiment in 1861, and a 2nd Battalion was added in 1886.

3RD GURKHA REGIMENT.—The Kemaoon Regiment, which was raised on April 24th, 1815, was reserved for Gurkhas in 1850. It was designated the 3rd Gurkha Regiment in 1861, and a 2nd Battalion was added in 1887.

4TH GURKHA REGIMENT.—This regiment was raised in 1857. It became the 4th Gurkha Regiment in 1861, and a 2nd Battalion was added in 1886.

5TH GURKHA REGIMENT.—The Huzara Gurkha Battalion was raised in 1858, and was designated the 5th Gurkha Regiment in 1861. A 2nd Battalion was added in 1886. These two battalions of the 5th Gurkhas belong to the Punjab Frontier Force.

In addition to these there are the three Assam Corps, now called the 42nd, 43rd, and 44th Gurkha (Rifle) Regiments of Bengal Infantry, the 9th Gurkha (Rifle) Regiment of Bengal Infantry, and the 39th (The Garhwal Rifle) Regiment of Bengal Infantry, altogether fifteen regiments of Gurkhas and hillmen.

In round numbers nearly 14,000 men, each regiment being 912 strong.

CHAPTER XI.

HODGSON AS A SCHOLAR.

HODGSON'S contributions to scholarship were of three kinds. He was the largest and most munificent collector of manuscripts, ancient texts, and vernacular tracts that ever went to India.[1] He was also an erudite student of the new materials which he thus collected, nor did the originality of his conclusions less impress his contemporaries than the stores of buried learning which he brought to light. Having gathered together his data and used them so far as his hard-earned leisure allowed, he handed them over to the learned Societies of India and Europe in trust for scholars who could bring to their investigation the final processes of modern research. His magnificent liberality enriched not only the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Asiatic Societies in Great Britain and in India, but also the Institute of France and the Société Asiatique de Paris with treasures which have not even yet been completely explored.

Hodgson had a passion for collecting. By rare good fortune he found himself set down in a part of Asia isolated from European scholarship and as a field for the collector absolutely untouched. Within a few months of his definite return to Nepal in 1824 a stream of manuscripts, specimens, and antiquarian curios of many

[1] *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge* (Ed. 1883), Preface, p. vii, by Mr. Cecil Bendall, M.A., whom I have to thank for much kind aid.

sorts began to flow into the Asiatic Society in Calcutta from the young Assistant Resident at Kathmandu.

Hodgson had, however, not only a virgin field as a collector; he also appeared on the scene at the precise moment when a collector in that field obtained for the first time the facilities which made it possible for others to use his collections. In the very year that Hodgson returned to Nepal, Dr. Carey was preparing his Grammar and Dictionary of the Tibetan Language—the language of the suzerain power of Nepal and the one great language of culture in Central Asia. Hodgson saw his opportunity, and in December 1824 he submitted a memorandum to the Bengal Asiatic Society setting forth the prospects of new discovery thus opened up. It is a remarkable production for a young enthusiast in his twenty-fourth year.[1]

"The stores of Tibetan literature need no longer remain a sealed fountain to us for want of a knowledge of the language in which they are recorded. All therefore that remains to be done is to procure these works, and to this object I will cheerfully address myself. It must be satisfactory to scholars to learn that in acquiring this new instrument [the Tibetan language] they will not meet with any great difficulty. For although the vernacular tongue of Tibet may be radically distinct from Sanskrit, its learned language certainly bears the closest affinity (*sic*)." He then refers to the collection of over sixty manuscripts and texts which he is despatching to the Society, and hopes they "will be found as intrinsically valuable as they are bulky. I procured them from the archives of [the Buddhist monastery of] Svayambhu-nath, and from the poor traffickers and

[1] Memorandum by B. H. Hodgson, dated December 5th, 1824. Space compels me to condense. I am only able to give extracts, and I change the word "Bhotiya" to its modern equivalent "Tibetan."—MS. Records of the Bengal Asiatic Society. I take this opportunity to express my obligations to Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., as President of the Society, and to Mr. C. R. Wilson as its Secretary (1894), for their generous response to my numerous applications for materials preserved in the Society's manuscript archives.

monks who annually visit Nepal. Many of the works are mere fragments, and partially destroyed by time or dirt—popular tracts suited to the capacity and wants of the humbler classes of society, among whom they were found by me not without frequent surprise that literature of any kind should be so common in such a region as Tibet; and that it should be so widely diffused as to reach persons covered with filth and possessed of not one of those thousand luxuries which, at least in our ideas, go before the great luxury of books.

"Printing is probably the chief cause of this great diffusion of books [in Tibet], nor can I account for it unless by supposing that the hordes of priests, secular and regular, with which the country swarms have been driven by the tedium of their life to these admirable uses of their time. The invention of printing the Tibetans no doubt got from China. But the universal use they make of it is a merit of their own. The poorest fellow who visits this valley is seldom without his religious tract,[1] and from every part of his dress dangle charms[2] made up in slight cases whose interior exhibits the neatest workmanship in print."

Referring to the abundance of manuscripts, specimens of which he then forwarded, Hodgson comments on the universal use of writing in Tibet as scarcely less remarkable than the wide diffusion of printed books. These manuscripts he had obtained "from the humblest individuals"; "their numbers and variety" are worthy of note. "The printing of Tibet is performed by wooden block presses, which however are often beautifully engraved. Their writing exhibits fine specimens of very graceful penmanship."

In this vast unexplored field Hodgson found treasure-

[1] *Poti* in the original.

[2] *Mantras*, given as *jantras* in my copy of Hodgson's MS. memorandum. This memorandum was partly utilised in Hodgson's Essay of 1828; p. 35, etc., of Trübner's reprint of 1874.

troves on every side. He only regretted the inadequacy of his private means to the task before him. "Nepal," he wrote privately,[1] "has many old valuables going fast to oblivion, and Tibet probably has many more. But these things are very expensive. What I have already sent have cost me sundry rupees too numerous to be mentioned—yet given most cheerfully.[2] I saw the other day a house full of manuscripts, hardly one legible, and the instance I am told is not a solitary one in this valley. Do look at the first five numbers on my list. That is, look at the great work so indicated, and tell me if in so large a body some soul of Tibetan literature must not needs be found."

The task to which Hodgson thus devoted himself as a young man, he steadily carried out during his whole Indian career. "He collected," says Burnouf, "a larger body of original documents on Buddhism than had up to that time been ever gathered together either in Asia or in Europe."[3] Yet Burnouf had examined not a sixth part of the enormous mass of materials with which Hodgson endowed the libraries of Europe and India, when death cut short the French scholar's design of completely exploring the Hodgson manuscripts as the basis of a monumental work on Northern Buddhism. Fifteen years ago I printed catalogues of 399 Sanskrit manuscripts[4] and Buddhist works thus presented by Hodgson. It is scarcely too much to say that, with the exception of

[1] Letter to Mr. Bayley, dated Kathmandu, December 5th, 1824.

[2] Hodgson's successor in the collection of MSS. in Nepal, Dr. Wright, offered as much as £150 for an MS. of the Mahavastu, and failed to get it.—Mr. Cecil Bendall in the *Abhandlung des Fünften Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses* gehalten zu Berlin im September, 1881, p. 201.

[3] *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, par E. Burnouf (quarto, Paris, 1844; 2nd Ed. 1876), p. 1.

[4] *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts Collected in Nepal by Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S.* Compiled by Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I., LL.D. Trübner, 1881.

Mr. Bendall's researches into the Sanskrit MS. texts at Cambridge, and Prof. Ninaer's contributions, almost all the original work among northern Buddhist manuscripts in France, Great Britain, and India has during the past half-century been based upon materials collected by Hodgson.

Some of these manuscripts are of extreme age. The dry climate of Nepal is admirably adapted for the preservation of documents. Its isolated position saved it from the havoc of the Musalman invasions, amid which so many of the literary treasures of ancient India perished. The very early use of paper in Tibet supplied an alternative substance more enduring than the brittle palm-leaves employed for the purpose in India, and to some extent also in Nepal.[1] Even the decline of learning in Nepal tended to conserve the memorials of its ancient scholarship. Many of the old Nepalese manuscripts survived for centuries forgotten and unread. In certain of them, dating as far back as the eleventh century, the powder-chalk is as fresh as when it was put in by the scribe to keep the leaves from sticking. But if not read, these old manuscripts were guarded in their wrappings of fine silk as sacred heirlooms, "with all the superstitious care that an ignorant people can sometimes give to the monuments of an unknown learning."[2]

The Nepalese annals of the twelfth century A.D. relate how, when a village was in flames, a Brahman widow fled from her burning house with only her infant son, a little model of her Buddhist shrine, and a holy text written in letters of gold in her arms. It was to this same twelfth century that the oldest manuscript sent by Hodgson to

[1] As an example of Hodgson's minute inquiries into everything connected with the palæography and manuscripts of Nepal, see his curious note written in 1831 "On the Native Method of making the Paper denominated in Hindustan, Nepalese." Reprinted, with a postscript by Dr. Campbell, in Hodgson's *Essays* (Trübner, 1880), Vol. II., pp. 251-254.

[2] Mr. Cecil Bendall's paper in the *Abhandlung des Fünften Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses* (1881), p. 190. Berlin, 1882.

England belongs.[1] It holds a place of honour among the treasures of the Royal Asiatic Society in London and bears a date corresponding to 1165 A.D. A somewhat older manuscript of 1141 A.D. was forwarded by Hodgson to the Société Asiatique de Paris, and he presented one still more ancient to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, dated 1071 A.D.[2]

The results arrived at by Hodgson from his personal study of the materials which he collected form the subject of the concluding part of this chapter. Those results amounted to a new revelation to the Western world of scholarship, and earned for Hodgson the title given to him by Eugène Burnouf as "The Founder of the true study of Buddhism on the basis of the texts and original remains." After himself investigating his materials, Hodgson at once distributed them among the great Oriental Societies for the use of other scholars. This distribution will be detailed in Appendix A. A very brief summary must here suffice, and I fear that even the briefest summary may tax the patience of readers not specially interested in the subject.

Hodgson selected six famous libraries as the depositories of his Buddhist texts. To the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta he presented, from 1824 onwards, 94 Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts; to the College of Fort William, 66; to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 79; to the India Office Library, London, 30; and to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 7. Having thus placed at the disposal of British scholars a munificent endowment of manuscripts, he enriched French Orientalists with a scarcely less splendid donation of 147—transmitted to Burnouf and the Société

[1] The Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita, No. 1 in my List of 1881.

[2] I make this statement on the authority of a letter from Mr. Cecil Bendall to me, dated December 16th, 1895. Mr. Bendall noted on this manuscript when passing through Calcutta. It is the Prajnaparamita Ashtasahasrika, No. A 15 of Rajendra Lala Mitra's catalogue, where, by an obvious error in converting the dates, it is dated 1231 A.D.

Asiatique de Paris.[1] Each one of these six collections, with the exception of the small one presented to Oxford, suffices for an encyclopædic treatment of Northern Buddhism. The collection in the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta supplied the materials for Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's monumental work on *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*[2]—perhaps the highest achievement of Hindu scholarship in this century. That in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, London, has been catalogued by two of the most eminent Sanskritists of our day—Professor Cowell of Cambridge and Professor Eggeling of Edinburgh.[3] The Hodgson manuscripts at the India Office, London, and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are enumerated in the lists of my Appendix A.

The 147 manuscripts which Hodgson sent to Paris had a more distinguished destiny. They at once attracted the attention of the brilliant orientalist Eugène Burnouf. To France belongs the glory of having founded the first professorial chair for Sanskrit in Europe, and to Burnouf the honour of first placing the study of Buddhism on a scientific Western basis. This he accomplished from the materials supplied by Hodgson. His great work on the History of Buddhism was, as he tells us, constructed from the manuscripts presented by Hodgson to the Paris Asiatic Society in 1837. Not only in that

[1] Some of them were copied by Hodgson's pandits at the expense of the Société Asiatique de Paris.—Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme*, p. 4. Ed. 1876.

[2] Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, large 8vo, 1882. Rajendra also published the Lalita-Vistara and the Ashtasahasrika Prajna-paramita from the MSS. presented by Hodgson to the Bengal Asiatic Society. In regard to another copy of the Lalita-Vistara MS. sent by Hodgson to Paris, M. Burnouf wrote: "Ce beau manuscrit, qui a été écrit avec le devanagari du Nepal, m'a été envoyé de Kathmandu par M. Hodgson en Avril 1836." See also Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I. Calcutta, 1877.

[3] Vol. VIII. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. New Series, 1876.

work,[1] but also in his final one, Burnouf acknowledged Hodgson as the original discoverer of the materials out of which his genius reared so splendid a structure. Burnouf's letters attest his personal admiration for the solitary scholar in Nepal, and he addresses Hodgson as his "illustrious friend."[2] He gave the impulse to that enthusiasm for Hodgson among Continental *savants* which induced the French King to send the Legion of Honour to the Himalayan recluse, the Institut de France to appoint him a Corresponding Member, and the Société Asiatique de Paris to commemorate his services by a gold medal. The crowning work of Burnouf's life, published after his death and forming as it were his literary testament, bears the following dedication: "À Monsieur Brian Houghton Hodgson, membre du service civil de la Compagnie des Indes, comme au fondateur de la véritable étude du Buddhisme par les textes et les monuments."[3]

The six collections of the Hodgson manuscripts referred to in preceding pages have all been catalogued, and each of them has to a larger or smaller extent been utilised. But, besides these, Hodgson presented two collections to France and England which yet await the scrutiny of the European scholar. In 1858 he sent a mass of Sanskrit manuscripts and Buddhist drawings to the Institute of France, in whose library they now repose. In 1864 he presented to the Secretary of State for India another large collection of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Persian, and Newari. The distinguished scholar who was then Librarian to the India Office recorded the collection to be of "eminent importance, if only [as] embracing materials

[1] *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien* (Paris, 1844; 2nd Ed. 1876), pp. 1, 5, etc. See also A. Weber in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, No. 17, April 24th, 1875.

[2] *Choix de Lettres d'Eugène Burnouf*, 1825—1852, No. CLXI., pp. 441, 444. Paris, 1891.

[3] Dedication of *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi* (quarto, Paris, 1852), being a translation of the MS. of the Saddharma-pundarika, presented by Hodgson (No. 27 in my published list of the Hodgson MSS.) to Burnouf.

from which for the first time the history, political, religious, and linguistic, of Nepal might be digested by a competent scholar."[1] This statement I can personally confirm, as I examined the collection while on sick-leave from India in 1867.[2] They originally filled three trunks, and have not yet been completely utilised.[3] I give a list of their contents in Appendix B, in the hope that some competent student will undertake the task.

The collections heretofore dealt with consist of manuscripts in the Sanskrit language.[4] Hodgson, however, rendered a service of scarcely less importance to European scholarship by his collections of the Tibetan classics. These classics are embodied in two vast encyclopædias of sacred learning and philosophy aggregating 345 or 367 volumes, known as the Kahgyur and Stangyur. They are Tibetan versions of Sanskrit texts, printed from wooden blocks after the Chinese manner. The Kahgyur forms an encyclopædia of 123 volumes, containing the doctrine and moral precepts of Buddha as arranged by his chief disciples after his death.[5] The Stangyur is a still vaster collection of 224 volumes aggregating 76,409 leaves, each about two feet long.[6] It forms a cycle of Tibetan learning,

[1] Report by the Librarian, Dr. FitzEdward Hall, to the Secretary of State for India, dated August 9th, 1864.

[2] When collecting the materials for my *Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia*, based on the Hodgson MSS. (Trübner, quarto, 1868)—a work for which my opportunities and my knowledge were then inadequate.

[3] This collection is now preserved at the India Office Library in wooden boxes and brown-paper parcels. Professor Somers borrowed a packet in 1870; Dr. Burgess borrowed another in 1877, and the catalogue in 1882; Professor Benoldi borrowed two parcels in 1882. But the Librarian writes to me, December 18th, 1895, that these MSS. "have not been really worked up."

[4] Excepting the miscellaneous papers in the three trunks presented to the India Office, and the Buddhist drawings presented to the Institute of France.

[5] Its "three Repositories" correspond to the so-called Buddhist Tripitika of China and Japan, although differing in arrangement and contents.

[6] *Life of Alexander Csoma de Körös*, by Theodore Duka, M.D. (Trüb-

apparently the joint compilation of Indian pandits and Chinese or Tibetan *literati*, and includes commentaries on the Kahgyur, with original treatises on religious rites, ceremonies, philosophy, arts, and sciences.

Hodgson obtained two sets of these encyclopædias of Tibetan literature. The first set he transmitted to the College of Fort William, whence it passed in 1829 to the Bengal Asiatic Society, of whose library it still forms a chief ornament.[1] Whether this first set was altogether a gift from Hodgson, or paid for in part, I am unable to determine.[2] The second set was presented to Hodgson about nine years later by the Grand Lama of Tibet himself, as the highest possible mark of honour to a learned foreigner —an honour unprecedented in the annals of Tibet. It was a costly work, first printed in 1731 from blocks still used at a famous Buddhist monastery of Central Asia.[3] The Russian Government lately paid £2,000 for a copy of one half the series. Hodgson with his usual munificence presented this set to the Court of Directors in 1838. It forms 345 magnificent folios which bear his name in the India Office Library, part of them still in their curious Tibetan wrappers, the remainder bound in calf and morocco. They are unique in Europe. Seven years later Hodgson endowed the British Museum, in 1845, with the Tibetan

ner, 1885), p. 49; letter from Csoma de Körös, dated May 25th, 1825. I take this opportunity of expressing my many obligations to Dr. Duka in regard to Hodgson's Tibetan researches. The Stangyur (which I have personally examined) makes 222 volumes in the India Office set.

[1] The present Secretary to the Bengal Asiatic Society (Mr. C. R. Wilson), in forwarding to me copies of the correspondence of July 1829, adds: "It shows that the Kahgyur MSS. were presented by Hodgson to the College of Fort William, and hence were transferred to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have tried to find out when Hodgson presented the MSS. to Fort William College, but hitherto without result."

[2] Rajendra Lala Mitra, who examined the Hodgson collection in Calcutta, merely says: "The first set is now preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal."

[3] Near Tashilumpo.

translation of the Prajna-paramita—a vast work in five volumes and 100,000 verses.[1] The enormous extent of these Tibetan collections may be realised from Burnouf's statement that while Hodgson sent between 1824 and 1829 fifty volumes of Sanskrit to the Calcutta Asiatic Society, he sent four times as many in Tibetan.

The materials which Hodgson thus accumulated he utilised by a process of his own. His methods were by no means rapid ones. "Soon after my arrival in Nepal (1821)," he wrote, "I began to devise means of procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism."[2] At first he met with serious difficulties, "arising out of the jealousy of the people in regard to any profanation of their sacred things by a European. I nevertheless persevered." With the aid of a venerable pandit he obtained a list of Buddhist sacred texts hidden away in the monasteries of Nepal. Having won the old man's confidence, he persuaded him to gradually procure copies of the most important of the manuscripts. He then drew up a series of questions on the religion and philosophy of Buddhism as actually existing in Nepal. The answers which he obtained he tested from the original manuscripts, with a result generally confirmative, but not always satisfactory in respect to the relative age and authority of the texts cited. "Thus one step led to another, until I conceived the idea of drawing up, with the aid of my old friend and his books, a sketch" of "Buddhism."

"When, however, I conceived that design," he says very simply, "I little suspected where it would lead me. I began ere long to feel my want of languages, and to confess the truth of patience, and almost looked back with a sigh to the tolerably full and accurate account of

[1] Corresponding to the Sanskrit MS. Prajna-paramita, Sata-sahasrika, presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; No. 52 in my published *List of the Hodgson Sanskrit MSS.* (1881).

[2] *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq. (Trübner's reprint of 1874), p. 35.

Buddhism which I had obtained so long ago, and with little comparative labour, from my old friend's answers to my queries."[1]

His materials accumulated so as almost to threaten to bury him under their mass. Hodgson found himself a sort of literary Crusoe who in his solitude had built a ship beyond his powers to launch. Many years of severe labour elapsed before he produced his preliminary sketch, and the process of development went on during a period of nearly thirty years.[2] His first articles on Buddhism were contributed to the Bengal Asiatic Society in the years preceding 1828, and appeared in the *Asiatic Researches* and *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* in that year. They were supplemented by numerous communications, and embodied as a whole in 1841 in his *Illustration of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists.*[3] Reprinted in 1870,[4] they were finally issued as the opening section of Hodgson's first set of Collected Essays in 1874.[5]

Of so vast a mass of original work the very slightest sketch must here suffice. To render even that sketch bearable to the general reader I shall deal with Hodgson's views as finally condensed in the volume of 1874. Hodgson frankly admitted that it would be impossible for him to digest the mountains of manuscripts which he had collected.[6] Such a task was beyond the reach of any one man or any dozen men. What he could do was to clearly present to European scholars the living Buddhism which he saw around him in Nepal, together with a comprehensive review of the materials for studying its transition stages from the ancient Buddhism of India.

[1] Hodgson's *Essays, ut supra*, 1874, p. 36 (originally printed 1828).

[2] Preface to *Essays, ut supra*, p. v (1874).

[3] Printed at the Serampur Press, near Calcutta, 1841.

[4] By Professor J. Summers in the *Phœnix*, a monthly magazine for subjects connected with China, Japan, and Eastern Asia, started in July 1870.

[5] They form pp. 1 to 145 of the volume of Hodgson's *Essays* reprinted by Trübner in 1874.

[6] *Idem.*, pp. 13, 22, etc.

Starting with an account of the spoken dialects of Nepal and passing thence to its literature, he gives an elaborate account of the Buddhist texts both in the Sanskrit and in the Tibetan languages. A masterly disquisition follows on the practical and speculative aspects of Buddhism in Tibet. He discloses the existence of four distinct systems of opinion respecting the origin of the world, the nature of a first cause, and the nature and destiny of the soul. Each of these systems he examines in detail, glancing also at their subdivisions and at the various reconciling theories put forth by later Buddhist teachers. He shows how these four schools develop the various hypotheses, materialistic and immaterial, of the origin of God, the universe, and man.

"In regard to the destiny of the soul," he writes, "I can find no essential difference of opinion between the Buddhist and the Brahmanical sages. By all, metempsychosis and absorption are accepted. But absorbed into what? Into Brahma, say the Brahmans; into" diverse psychical states ranging from divinity to nothingness, "say the various sects of the Buddhists."[1] Hodgson arrived at his materials for this part of his work by a prolonged process of inquiry from learned Brahmans and Buddhist priests. He had the good fortune to attract the friendship of the greatest pandit in Nepal—a friendship which grew into a reverential affection on both sides.

This erudite Buddhist, Amrita Nanda by name, was himself the author of several treatises in Sanskrit and of one in the Nepalese dialect.[2] He presented the highest type of the ancient native scholar, courteous, dignified, a well of learning, and with a memory so capacious and so perfectly trained as almost to do away with the need of manuscripts. The questions which Hodgson put to him, and Hodgson's commentaries on his replies, opened up unknown regions

[1] Hodgson's *Essays*, p. 26 (1874).

[2] *Newari*. See preface to the *Buddha-Carita* of Asvaghosha, by Professor E. B. Cowell, p. xi. Clarendon Press, 1894.

of research to the Western world. "How and when was the world created? What was the origin of mankind? Is matter an independent existence or derived from God? What are the attributes of God? Who is Buddha? is he God or the Creator or a Prophet or Saint? born of heaven or of a woman? Did God ever submit to incarnation or make a descent to earth? What is the cause of good and evil? What is the motive for your acts—the love of God, the fear of God, or the desire of prospering in the world?" These are a few of the comprehensive questions by which Hodgson laid bare the Buddhist explanations of the great problems of divine and human existence, and of the ways of God to man.

In the Eastern systems religion forms a department of philosophy, and Hodgson's dissertation merges insensibly from the religious into the philosophic aspects of Buddhism. "Buddhist Philosophy," indeed, is the heading of by far the larger portion of his earliest work.[1] But the speculations are so abstruse, and involve a terminology so novel to English readers, as to render them unsusceptible of popular treatment. Hodgson's account of the philosophic schools of Buddhism and their many subdivisions, of the attributes assigned by them to the Deity and semi-divine beings, his elaborate enumeration of the objects of Buddha worship, and his realistic exposition of the Buddhist religious orders, form a monument of patient research.

Scarcely less interesting, although not always so searching, are the side-lights which he throws on many collateral questions, such as the comparative antiquity of Northern and Southern Buddhism, the dialect in which they were originally preached, the literary languages in which their doctrines were first embodied, and the curious developments of Buddhist ritual which he discovered in Sivaite worship. Space constrains me to restrict my comments to a single one of them, his "Disputation respecting

[1] From pp. 45 to 145, *Essays* (1874 reprint).

Caste."[1] It consists of a keenly argumentative attack by a Buddhist on the cardinal caste-doctrine of the Brahmans, and derives pungency from the fact that it assumes the truth of their sacred texts, and derives its weapons exclusively from them. Hodgson's private pandit, a Benares Brahman,[2] who was associated with him in copying the original tract, soon broke away from the task, "full of indignation at the author and his work." With a cruel subtilty the Buddhist inquirer analyses all the possible causes of Brahmanhood, and proves each in turn to be untenable. The conclusion is skilfully conveyed in the answer given by a Vedic sage of the highest authority to the question, "Whom do you call a Brahman, and what are the signs of Brahmanhood?" The reply is worth reproducing, for although Hodgson translated it half a century ago, the basis of morality underlying the whole Hindu system of caste is still imperfectly recognised by European, and especially by missionary, critics of Brahmanism.

"The first sign of a Brahman," replied the Vedic sage,[3] "is that he possesses long-suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong-doing; that he never eats flesh, and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is, that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it on the road. The third sign, that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent to earthly considerations. The fourth, that whether he is born a man, or a god, or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth, that he possesses the following five

[1] Hodgson's *Essays*, pp. 126-133 (1874 reprint).

[2] To be carefully distinguished from the great Nepalese pandit Amrita Nanda who brought to Hodgson the Buddhist treatise on Hindu caste in question.

[3] Vaisampayana, the original teacher or giver forth of the Black Yajur-Veda, and also, according to Hindu tradition, of the Hari-Vansa. He was a pupil of the great "Vyasa," the mythical "arranger" of the Mahabharata—or perhaps of the equally mythical "Vyasa" of the Vedaṣ.

pure qualities: truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence, and penance.

"Whoever possesses these five signs of Brahmanhood I acknowledge to be a Brahman; and, if he possess them not, he is a low caste. Brahmanhood depends not on race or birth, nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a man of low caste is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Brahman. Formerly, in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and of avocations. . . . If a low caste be superior to the allurements of the five senses, to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Heed not his caste; but only mark his qualities."[1] Thus said the Brahman sage.

The publication of Hodgson's first essays produced an extraordinary sensation in Europe. They came at a time when scholars had grown tired of polite speculations about Buddhism, and wanted to know what it really was. Burnouf hailed Hodgson's contribution of 1828 to the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* as "full of entirely new ideas on the languages, literature, and religion of the Buddhists of Nepal and Tibet. This first essay already contained an exposition of the various philosophical schools of the Buddhism of that country which has never since then been surpassed or even equalled."[2] It "brought to light, among other important discoveries, the capital fact hitherto unknown that there existed large collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in the monasteries of Nepal," "the existence of which had never even been suspected before." With regard to the contribution of 1828 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Burnouf speaks in the warmest terms of the "disinterested zeal and perseverance" of the

[1] *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, by B. H. Hodgson, pp. 132-3. Reprint: Trübner, 1874. I have put Sanskrit terms into their English equivalents.

[2] *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien* (1876 Ed.), pp. 2, 3, from which also the following quotations are taken.

author, and emphasises the new departure accomplished by his labours. Burnouf lays stress on Hodgson's discovery that the ancient Sanskrit scribes appended to their copies of manuscripts a list of the sacred books known to them. This discovery Hodgson utilised with admirable effect for collecting the whole cycle of the Buddhist texts in Nepal. "You have laid out in a manner equally courageous and complete," Burnouf wrote privately to Hodgson, "the ground-plan of the edifice of Buddhism."[1] The Asiatic Society of Paris set its official stamp on the value of Hodgson's first essays by conferring on him the rare distinction of its honorary membership, and the gold medal already mentioned "*À Monsieur Hodgson la Société Asiatique reconnaissante.*"

Burnouf's encomiums were published in 1844; they have been amply confirmed by later writers. Albrecht Weber declares that by Hodgson's essays of 1828 "a wholly new field was opened, and the philosophical doctrines of the Buddhists were for the first time elucidated from their old original texts. They presented to us a draught out of a full cup. From the point of view specially dealt with, and for knowledge of the four philosophic systems of the Nepalese Buddhists, those articles remain even after Burnouf's researches a unique source down to this day." Weber speaks with enthusiasm of "the fresh well-springs sparkling before our eyes" which Hodgson opened up. He expresses his astonishment and the general admiration of scholars at "the perfect clearness with which Hodgson unravelled so extremely intricate a web." What had until Hodgson's appearance on the scene been "so many riddles,"

[1] Letter from Eugène Burnouf to Hodgson, dated August 28th, 1837. The Hodgson Private Papers contain several extremely interesting letters from Burnouf, Jaquet, and Jules Mohl, the Secretary of the Société Asiatique de Paris. I have to thank Mrs. Brian Hodgson for the extreme lucidity with which these letters and other manuscript materials have been arranged. If the present volume should be so fortunate as to awaken an interest in the subject, I hope that a collection from the Hodgson Papers may be subsequently issued.

guessed at from second-hand sources, were answered by Hodgson once and for all from the original texts.[1]

"Mr. Hodgson's illustrations of the literature and origin of the Buddhists," wrote Csoma de Körös, the generous Hungarian scholar who stands out as the sole rival of Hodgson in the field of Himalayan research, "form a wonderful combination of knowledge on a new subject with the deepest philosophical speculations, and will astonish the people of Europe."[2]

If the debt of Continental scholarship to Hodgson was great, it is not too much to say that the original materials which he collected, and the conclusions which he derived from them, formed during half a century the basis of the study of Northern Buddhism in our own country.[3] Mountstuart Elphinstone records in his *History of India* that even his general "account of the Bauddha tenets is chiefly derived from the complete and distinct view of that religion given by Mr. Hodgson."[4] A specialist like General Sir Alexander Cunningham[5] wrote to Hodgson, "I found in your work the only clear and intelligible account of Buddhism." The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, in its memoir of Hodgson after his death in 1894, sums up his services in a sentence borrowed from *The Times* obituary: "To him the world still owes the materials for a knowledge of the great proselytising faith which was the one civilising influence in Central Asia."

Hodgson had quite unconsciously achieved a masterpiece of research. He tells us somewhat pathetically that until

[1] Condensed from Albrecht Weber's remarkable article in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, No. 27, April 24th, 1875. I thank Professor Thomas Miller, formerly of Göttingen, now of Strasburg, for a translation of this article which he kindly forwarded to me.

[2] Csoma de Körös in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1842.

[3] I do not of course include the Chinese or Japanese Buddhism of the Far East, nor the Southern Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon.

[4] *History of India*, by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. Footnote 53, p. 114. Ed. 1874.

[5] Afterwards Director-General of the Archæological Survey in India. Letter to Hodgson, dated Gwalior, April 15th, 1851

after the publication of his first essays "he had never seen one line of" "any Continental writer's lucubrations on Buddhism." But in his researches, as throughout his official career, he converted his very disadvantages into elements of greatness; and his isolation gave to his views that stamp of originality which is the highest form of genius in scholarship. Needless to say that such originality gave rise to some controversy in Europe. His first critic was Abel Remusat. But Remusat, although a distinguished Sinologist, editor of the *Journal des Savants*, and the founder and first secretary of the Paris Asiatic Society, had the old imperfect knowledge of Buddhism derived from secondary texts and Chinese or Mongolian translations. Dying in 1832, before he had time to grasp the full significance of Hodgson's discoveries, his criticisms only served to mark the vast stride which Hodgson's work rendered possible in Buddhist research. "In dealing with Abel Remusat," says Weber briefly, "Hodgson had an easy task."

Another and more prolonged controversy arose with Turnour, the representative of the Southern or Pali school of Buddhism. This controversy bifurcated into two sets of conflicting theories. In the first of them, that Buddhism issued out of ancient forms of the Brahmanical faith and to a certain extent in hostility to Brahman institutions, Hodgson was correct.[1] In his second theory, which claimed for the Sanskrit texts of Northern Buddhism priority over the Pali sacred writings at least in the region of philosophic doctrine, Hodgson went too far. He himself, with characteristic honesty, afterwards recognised "that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language are no longer disputable."[2] "But," writes Albrecht Weber in summing up the discussion, "if Hodgson went at first

[1] I confine myself to Weber's broad dictum, without referring to the nicer modifications rendered necessary by recent results of scholarship.

[2] Postscript to dissertation on "The Pravrajya Vratra," *Essays*, p. 145 (1874).

too far, his grounds almost throughout were perfectly reasonable, and it is still a great treat to read the papers connected with this controversy—a controversy which at the time mightily stirred the friends and representatives of Indian studies."[1] In the little temporary controversy between the friends of Hodgson and Csoma de Körös as to the dates of their work, Burnouf assigned to Hodgson the honours of priority. But, as we now know, the two solitary workers were both making similar discoveries in far separated regions of the Himalayas, unknown to each other, during the very same years.[2]

Since Hodgson's time there have been several students of the first class in the field of Northern Buddhism in its wider sense, as including the Buddhism of all Central Asia, China, and Japan. The indefatigable patience of Samuel Beal, the scholarly grasp of the American diplomatist Woodville Rockhill, the fine touch of Cecil Bendall, and the minute local scrutiny of Austine Waddell, to mention only a few of those best known in this country,[3] have carried Buddhist research into regions into which Hodgson did not penetrate. But by the common consent of these scholars their work started from the basis supplied by Hodgson, and, while amplifying, have not superseded it.

His work fails of course in several respects to fulfil the punctilious demands of modern scholarship. The accounts of the original texts which he discovered were derived from a number of separate pandits, and they do not always harmonise. Nor did he realise the necessity

[1] *Literarisches Centralblatt*, No. 17, April 24th, 1875. Burnouf's earlier views may be studied in Section VII. of his *Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, pp. 512-524, particularly 517, 2nd Ed.

[2] Burnouf, *ut supra*, pp. 6, 7. The letters of Csoma de Körös, published in Dr. Duka's *Life*, prove that the discoveries of the two Himalayan scholars were contemporaneous, although Hodgson had the good fortune to communicate his first to the world.

[3] But not forgetting Jaeschke the Danish missionary, I. J. Schmidt the St. Petersburg lexicographer, the German brothers Schlagintweit, that unwearied Indian worker Sarat Chandra Das, and the Bengal palæographer Rajendra Lala Mitra.

for that exactitude in quotation which is now rigorously enforced from bibliographers. Even when Sanskrit authorities are cited, the chapter and stanza are seldom indicated. Further stumbling-blocks arise from references to sections of texts without giving the name of the whole work. The explanation is that Hodgson laboured in solitude and to satisfy his own craving for research, unacquainted with the rules of the European technique of his study, and calmly unconscious of the little annoyances which that unacquaintance might cause to Western scholars. His methods of quotation must be regarded as *memoriæ technicæ* for his own well-stored mind, rather than as an example for imitation by other students.

But the most exacting of European scholars have been the most ready to acknowledge the slightness of these defects compared with the magnitude of the work achieved. The rooms containing the Hodgson manuscripts in the great public libraries of India, England, and France still form places of pilgrimage for the modern students of Buddhism. "You may be sure," wrote Albrecht Weber to Hodgson[1] in referring to "the path you have opened," "that its importance will be more and more acknowledged every year. This summer that splendid collection of pictorial, sculptural, and architectural illustrations which you presented to the Institute of France in memory of the illustrious scholar Eugène Burnouf, will form the object of a visit to Paris of a scholar most eminently qualified to make a right use of it, I mean A. Schiefner, a member of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg." The same scholarly pilgrimages go on to this hour. When the brilliant palæographer of the Cambridge University and the British Museum, Mr. Cecil Bendall, made his journey to Northern India in 1885, the Hodgson collection at Calcutta was almost the first shrine which he visited.

[1] Letter from Professor Albrecht Weber to B. H. Hodgson, dated April 24th, 1860.

It would be difficult to name a modern expert more careful to avoid undue praise than Professor Bendall. Before starting on his archæological travels, he repaired to Mr. Hodgson in his Gloucestershire retirement for inspiration and counsel. He has now favoured me with his final views on the man whom he publicly described as "the greatest and least thanked of our Indian Residents."[1] In spite of palæographic imperfections, which Professor Bendall is strict to mark, he declares that Hodgson's works "form the most important contribution to the bibliography of the literature" of Buddhism.[2] He points out that masses of the original materials collected by Hodgson are still unutilised, and expresses a conviction that, as more of his manuscripts come to be published, the details furnished in even the earliest essays of Hodgson will prove valuable "in deciphering the often difficult texts."

I have cited Professor Bendall because, sooner or later, a man's place in scholarship must depend on the verdict of specialists. But Hodgson's work was many-sided, and while one set of modern students have been specialising in the bibliographical branch of his labours, another set have also been specialising in his local and antiquarian researches. Hodgson supplied the original materials for both. Among local experts who have followed on Hodgson's foot-tracks, Mr. Austine Waddell holds a unique position. He is the first European who, with a scientific training and equipped with the resources of modern scholarship, has penetrated the esoteric Buddhism of Tibet. He broke through the reserve of the priests by himself purchasing a Lamaist temple in full working order, and carrying on its daily ritual at his own cost. The officiants conceived the idea that he must be a reflex of the Western

[1] *A Journey of Literary and Archæological Research in Nepal and Northern India* (1884—1885), by Cecil Bendall, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Professor of Sanskrit in University College, London, p. 11. Cambridge University Press, 1886.

[2] MS. "Note on Mr. B. H. Hodgson's Essays," forwarded to me by Professor Bendall, October 1894.

Buddha, Amitabha himself, and so "overcame their conscientious scruples and imparted information freely."[1]

Mr. Austine Waddell gratefully recognises Hodgson as "the father of modern critical study of Buddhist doctrine."[2] Before starting afresh for India in 1895, Mr. Waddell heard that I was engaged on a Life of Hodgson and wrote to me as follows:[3] "A somewhat intimate acquaintance with the south-west frontiers of Tibet brought me into contact with the almost encyclopædic scientific work which had been performed there by Mr. Hodgson, and more detailed examination deepened the sense of our indebtedness to him. His Buddhist researches mark a distinct epoch in the advance of our knowledge of this many-sided system. His masterly inquiries furnished a vast array of new facts which disclosed the true structure and developments of the faith, and soon dissipated the fantastic theories prevalent in Europe which had till then done duty for original investigation. With admirable skill he struck the keynote to the study of Indian Buddhism. This may be heard even in his earliest papers. And the salient points which he singled out still serve as stepping stones across many a dreary waste of Indian history.

"Of scarcely less importance are his detailed studies of specific dogmas and developments. Many of these, belonging to Nepalese Buddhism, remain our only authorities on the subject. So very full, indeed, are his writings that several of the so-called discoveries of later scholars are to be found in his condensed text or teeming footnotes."

To these appreciations by the two great living experts, the one on the bibliographical and the other on the historical and philosophical sides of Hodgson's Buddhist work, it would be rash for a biographer to add a single sentence.

[1] *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, by L. Austine Waddell M.B. Preface, p. ix. Allen & Co., 1895. [2] *Idem.*, p. xii.

[3] Under date February 11th, 1895. Space restricts me to a few extracts from Mr. Austine Waddell's communication.

CHAPTER XII.

HODGSON AND THE HILL RACES.

HODGSON'S work among the Sanskrit texts and his collaboration with Sanskrit pandits brought him to the core of the Aryan civilisation of India. To whatever race Buddha belonged, there can be no question that Buddhism developed into the national religion of India under Aryan influences, and that its original Scriptures were written in one form or other of Aryan speech. But the Aryans in India, as in Europe, form only a top-dressing to thick layers of earlier races. Those remnants of primitive humanity have in Europe been almost crushed out of sight by the superincumbent mass, or were amalgamated with it. In India they may be studied as distinct types of man.

The mountains which wall out the Indian peninsula from Asia, and the dense forests of the table-land and ranges in the heart of India itself, furnished asylums for these human survivals of a prehistoric age. India thus forms a vast museum of races—of races not in a fossil state, but warm and breathing, living apart in their own communities, amid a world of suggestive links with a past that has elsewhere disappeared. The aboriginal peoples of India have, as it were, been hidden away in hill-caves, until the great ethnical movements subsided beneath which they would otherwise have been buried.

The outer ranges of the Himalayas, amid which Hodgson passed his whole Indian career, supply an unrivalled field for the study of such tribes. In this branch of knowledge also Hodgson found himself a pioneer. The English have

studied, and they understand, the Aryan populations of India as no conquerors ever studied or understood a subject race. The East India Company grudged neither honours nor solid rewards to any meritorious effort to illustrate the people whom it ruled. Those efforts led to a series of discoveries which rolled back the horizon of human knowledge. They proved that the higher races of India derive their civilisation from that Aryan or noble stock which has radiated to Europe, America, and Australasia, and which is now almost co-extensive with civilised mankind.

At an early period it became known that another element had entered into the composition of the Indian people; but an ignoble element, destitute of literature, and, for the most part, now huddled away in forests fatal to European life. The very lustre of the Aryan discoveries threw the non-Aryan peoples of India into a deeper shade. Practical usefulness and the gloss of fashion were for once on the same side. Indian scholars crowded into a field in which every honest seeker might hope to find ore, and kept aloof from a study in which they could look for little sympathy and from which they expected small results.

To this neglected study of the non-Aryan races of India Hodgson devoted himself in the full maturity of his powers. His Buddhistic researches and his marvellous collections of Sanskrit manuscripts formed the work of the earlier portion of his career in Nepal. The essays on the aborigines of India were chiefly issued during his thirteen years' retirement in Darjiling (1845—1858), freed from the burdens of official life. These ethnological contributions to learned societies greatly exceed in number and bulk his Buddhistic essays. They occupy nearly a half of the volume of his collected works issued in 1874, the whole of one volume issued in 1880, and the greater part of the other volume published in the same year. With some European scholars, indeed, Hodgson's ethnological work ranked as the chief service which he rendered to the world. Latham, Schleicher,

Lassen, Max Müller, Professor Owen, Dr. Barnard Davis, and others welcomed his discoveries as a new revelation. He thus for a second time stepped forward in the enviable position of a man who has new knowledge to impart to the world. The admiration which he enjoyed from Aryan scholars in Europe during the thirties, he again won from non-Aryan scholars during the fifties. In 1854 Bunsen declared him to be "our highest living authority and best informant on the ethnology of the native races of India."

Hodgson approached this part of his life's work by deliberate advances. He first made a complete study of the habitat of the Himalayan aboriginal tribes. His essay "On the Physical Geography of the Himalaya" appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1849, and was reprinted by the Bengal Government as a State Paper in 1857. It attracted the attention of Baron von Humboldt, who wrote of Hodgson in high terms to the President of the Bengal Asiatic Society.[1] Hodgson's very first page arrests the attention of the reader. "I had been for several years a traveller in the Himalayas, before I could get rid of that tyranny of the senses which so strongly impresses all beholders of this stupendous scenery with the conviction that the mighty maze is quite without a plan. My first step towards freedom from this overpowering obtrusiveness of impressions of sense was obtained by steady attention to the fact that the vast volume of the Himalayan waters flows more or less at right angles to the general direction of the Himalaya, but so that the numberless streams of the mountains are directed into a few grand rivers of the plains."

Hodgson then relates how he began to investigate the phenomena of the convergence of these innumerable transverse streams. His final step was achieved when he brought into causal relation the angles of the outer ranges and inner snowy peaks with the radiating points of the

[1] Baron von Humboldt to Sir J. Colvile, President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, March 1855.

feeders of each great river. These ideas had occurred to him many years before in Nepal, but it was during his retirement in Darjiling that he worked them into a complete system. Sir Joseph Hooker, who had the opportunity of testing Hodgson's facts by observations of his own on the spot, thus formulates Hodgson's results.[1] From the central axis of the Himalayas a succession of secondary chains take their origin, separating the great rivers which flow into the plains of India. "Here also," wrote Max Müller in Bunsen's *Philosophy of Universal History*,[2] "we owe much to Hodgson's genius. His map of the natural divisions of the Himalaya is in truth a *grammaire raisonnée* of this irregular mountain-utterance"—five peaks constituting four river basins, and three transverse climatic divisions.

Hodgson had also the good fortune to supply materials for the solution of the river problems of Northern India itself. It is known that the three mighty river systems of the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra take their rise near to each other, not on the Indian side of the Himalayas but on the northern or Tibetan side. During the first eight hundred miles of their course the Indus and Brahmaputra are essentially rivers of Central Asia, with the vast ranges of the Himalayas between them and India. But while thus rising on opposite sides of the same sacred mountain, the Indus turns westward and forces a passage through the Western Himalayas into the Punjab, and so eventually to the Arabian Sea. The Brahmaputra, on the other hand, turns eastward from its source, and eventually bursts through a gorge of the Eastern Himalayas into Assam, and so reaches the Bay of Bengal on the opposite side of India.

Its course of eight hundred miles along the Tibetan or Central Asian trough on the north of the Himalayas still

[1] Hooker and Thompson's *Flora Indica*, Vol. I., pp. 167-185; condensed too much for inverted commas.

[2] Vol. I., 359. Ed. 1854. [Vol. III. of *Christianity and Mankind*.]

remained unexplored when Hodgson wrote. It was only known that a great river called the Sanpu flowed eastwards along the Central Asian trough, while a great river called the Brahmaputra burst through the Eastern Himalayas into Assam. Indications that these two rivers formed different sections of the same stream were not wanting. But they were not complete. Hodgson's inferences while in Nepal, and the geographical details which he supplied, raised these indications almost into proof. The evidences of the Sanpu and the Brahmaputra being one and the same river, wrote Pemberton in 1839, "are greatly strengthened by Mr. Hodgson's MS. map forwarded to the Surveyor-General. I consider this so satisfactory that nothing but ocular demonstration to the contrary could now shake my conviction."[1]

Hodgson thus based his study of the aboriginal tribes of the Himalayas upon the foundation of their physical surroundings. But as we shall see he was also a zoologist, and he did not overlook the important data supplied by the anatomical structure of the tribes themselves. After long and patient labour he collected the materials for the study of that structure, and especially for the craniology of the aboriginal races. With his usual generosity he placed his materials, including one hundred carefully verified skulls, at the disposal of European men of science. "Mr. Hodgson early felt," says Dr. Barnard Davis, the learned author of the *Crania Britannica*, "that the most interesting object of natural history is man himself, and he devoted his unremitting attention to the study of the many curious tribes with whom his long residence in India brought him in contact."[2] "In European museums these crania are very rare," wrote Sir F. Mowat, "owing to the difficulty of procuring them amongst races practising cremation."[3] Professor Owen, then and perhaps still the greatest master

[1] Pemberton's Report on Bhutan, 1839.

[2] Paper read by Dr. Barnard Davis before the British Association, May 1863.

[3] Paper read before the Ethnological Society in 1867.

of ethnological anatomy whom the world has seen, reported in grateful terms on the collection which Mr. Hodgson supplied.[1] Anthropometric measurements of non-Aryan types of man form a valuable feature of his essays. The Ethnological Society elected him an Honorary Fellow, then a rare distinction—Darwin, Layard, and Rawlinson being at that time, I am informed, almost the only other Englishmen thus honoured by the Society.

The physical structure of the Himalayan aborigines, and the geographical conditions amid which they lived, formed, however, only the basis of Hodgson's ethnological work. He recognised that, apart from all written records, man creates his own history in his customs, his religion, and his speech. We shall presently see how he applied this principle to a comprehensive study of the whole aborigines of India. But Hodgson was essentially a worker who built up from the facts around him. Before entering on the more general aspects of his ethnographical studies, I propose to summarise one of his earliest papers on three tribes who came within his immediate observation in the Sub-Himalayan tracts.

Hodgson's essay "On the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal Tribes" was published in Calcutta in 1847, and forms the first half of one of the volumes of his collected works issued in 1880. Latham, the leading British ethnologist of the middle of this century, pronounced it to be "a model of an ethnological monograph."[2] Its structure is simple almost to sternness. Disdaining a word of introduction, it starts with the vocabularies which Hodgson had for the first time collected among the hill races. It then evolves, also for the first time, a grammar of their speech. Finally, it sets forth in a learned disquisition the origin, location, numbers, religion, customs, character, and condition of the tribes.

The vocabulary was constructed by Hodgson upon a

[1] Report of Professor Owen to the British Association, May 1863.

[2] *Ethnology of the British Colonies*, p. 114.

plan which he believed would illustrate not only the origin of the tribes, but also the stages of mental and moral development through which they had passed. He secures his first aim by a complete list of terms for the simple natural objects and conceptions which form the common property of primitive races, and by which he afterwards traced back their relationship to other prehistoric peoples using allied words. He effects his second purpose, and arrives at a clear view of the stage of development that the tribes had reached, by a collection of terms dealing with the employments, appliances, and concepts of rising grades of civilisation.

His dictionary of the speech of these three tribes occupies seventy-one closely printed pages. It starts with names of things and beings: the terms connected with the earth, water, air, fire, and their products. The parts of the human body are exhaustively enumerated in the three languages, followed by terms for the appetites, affections, and various kinds of food. The higher physical wants of man are exhibited by the words for his dress, ornaments, and games. The vocabulary then enters into the terms dealing with animal life, quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, fish, and insects. The vegetable creation is next passed under review. A long and careful list supplies the words in the three languages for grains, fibres, oils, greens, tubers, spices, dyes, drugs, trees, and fruits, together with the various parts of plant structure.

Having thus furnished the words common to primitive races and susceptible of linguistic comparison with other branches of the same stock, Hodgson entered on the process of differentiation by means of lists of words dealing with the more advanced stages of human progress. He collected a complete dictionary of the natural and political ties of the family and the race. The names of occupations follow, from those of the primeval hunter, herdsman, and fisherman, through the builder and metal-worker up to the lawyer, finance minister, banker, and bankrupt. The two

last terms were only found in one of the three languages. In a similar way the more abstract forms of nouns are exhibited, together with copious lists of words illustrative of trade, religion, learning, literature, and the fine arts. The particles, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs are then set forth upon a carefully thought out system and in full detail.'

Hodgson notes several unexpected phenomena in the vocabularies of these tribes. "What can be more striking, for example," he says, "than 'agriculture' being expressed by the term 'felling' or 'clearing the forest'; than the total absence of any term for 'village,' for 'plough,' for 'horse,' for 'money,' of any kind; for nearly every operation of the intellect or will, whether virtuous or vicious; and lastly, for almost every abstract idea, whether material or immaterial."[1]

The second part of the essay is devoted to the grammar of two of the tribes, the Bodos and Dhimals. The original structure of the language of the Kocch had been so completely overlaid by Aryan forms that it was merged into a corrupt Bengali. Few pieces of philological work have more human interest than this effort to compel a living speech never before reduced to writing to yield up its structural laws. Hodgson starts by inventing an orthography for the two languages, neither of which "possesses, nor ever did possess, any alphabet or books."[2] The grammatical forms of substantives, their genders, cases, and numbers, are carefully explained. The adjective is then dealt with, followed by the various classes of pronouns, the system of numeration, and the verb. As one of the many curious facts brought to light, Hodgson points out that the cardinal numbers extend to only seven in Bodo and to ten in Dhimal. For higher quantities the tribes had to import terms from the Indian plains.

The grammar concludes with comments upon the multi-

[1] Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 103. Trübner, 1880.
[2] *Idem.*, p. 72.

tude of languages among the Himalayan tribes, or of dialects not mutually intelligible. After a catalogue of such dialects within a comparatively small area, Hodgson remarks: "What a wonderful superfluity of speech, and what a demonstration of the impediments to general intercourse characterising the earlier stages of our social progression. How far these languages, though now mutually unintelligible to those who use them, be really distinct; how far any common link may exist between them and the rest of the aboriginal tongues of India—so as to justify the application of the single name Tamulian to them all—are questions which I hope to supply large means of answering, when I have gone through the hill and *Tarai* tongues of this frontier."[1] We shall presently see how thoroughly Hodgson carried out this project.

Having reduced the unwritten speech of the tribes to a written language and set forth its structure and component parts, Hodgson devotes the third section of his essay to a systematic survey of their customs, status, and religion. For while he clearly understood the value of words and grammatical forms, as the revealers of the ethnical affinities and social transitions of the race, he understood not less clearly the evidence which can be derived from their traditions, habits, and creeds. "The condition or status of the Bodo and Dhimal people," he says, "is that of erratic cultivators of the wilds. For ages transcending memory or tradition, they have passed beyond the savage or hunter state and the nomadic or herdsman's estate, and have advanced to the third or agricultural grade of social progress, but so as to indicate a not entirely broken connection with the precedent condition of things. For, though cultivators all and exclusively, they are nomadic cultivators so little connected with any one spot that neither the Bodo nor Dhimal language possesses a name for village."[2]

[1] Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 103. Trübner, 1880.
[2] *Idem.*, p. 117.

The practice of nomadic cultivation Hodgson found to be characteristic of many non-Aryan races scattered throughout India. To him indeed we owe the first accurate study of this curious link between the hunting or pastoral stage and that of settled agriculture. *Arva in annos mutant et superest ager.* The Himalayan tribes whom Hodgson first observed do not cultivate the same field or remain in the same collection of huts beyond the fourth or sixth year. After the jungle has grown again they sooner or later work back to their former clearings, burn down the forest afresh, and again raise crops for a few years from the thus richly fertilised soil.

As no permanent rights grow up there is no possibility of raising a continuous rent. They accordingly pay tribute to the local Rajas by a capitation tax of so many rupees for each household; or by a *corvée* of forced labour; or by an annual payment of one rupee per "agricultural implement." The term "agricultural implement" really represents "as much land as they can cultivate therewith," for there is no land measure. They reckon that they can raise thirty or forty rupees' worth of produce with one implement, so that the impost of one rupee on it forms but a light land-tax. "There is no separate calling of herdsman or shepherd, or tradesman or shopkeeper, or manufacturer or handicraft, alien or native, in these primitive societies which admit no strangers among them, though they live on perfectly amicable terms with their neighbours, and thus can always procure, by purchase or barter, the very few things which they require and do not produce themselves."[1]

Hodgson thus marked out in bold and simple lines the four great differences between the status of the non-Aryan races in the Indian hill countries and that of the Aryan dwellers on the plains. Their nomadic tillage and migratory hamlets stand forth in contrast with the settled agriculture and permanent villages of the Aryan low-

[1] Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 119. Ed. 1880.

landers. Their taxation on the basis of the household or of the agricultural implement contrasts with the universal land-tax of the Indo-Aryan pale. The absence of any differentiation of employment equally contrasts them with the strict subdivision of labour on which the Aryan caste system in India is to a large extent based. Even more important is the non-admittance of strangers among them compared with the helot craftsmen such as low-caste potters, leather-workers, barbers, and village menials whom the Aryans throughout India incorporated as the substratum of their social organisation.

The non-Aryan hillmen whom Hodgson first studied had neither servants nor slaves nor aliens of any kind among them. A perfect equality prevailed under the elected or semi-hereditary head of the hamlet. They do not marry beyond the limits of their own people. "Chastity is prized in man and woman, married and unmarried." Although divorce is simple it is seldom resorted to. The wife has freedom of movement and on the whole is well treated. Female infanticide is unknown. "Daughters, on the contrary, are cherished and deemed a source of wealth, not poverty; for every man must buy his wife with coin or labour, and it is very seldom that the price comes to be redemanded by the wronged and unforgiving husband. There is no bar to remarriage, and widow-burning is a rite held in abhorrence."[1] The Bodos and Dhimals bury their dead with simple yet decent reverence, instead of adopting the Hindu custom of cremation. But fixed graveyards or permanent tombs are precluded by their migratory habits.

Having thus described the social status of the non-Aryan tribes, Hodgson proceeds to examine the ties of blood and customary law which bind together their communities. He then enters at very great length into their religion, or rather into their rites and festivals, and the attributes of the numerous deities who make up their

[1] Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 123. Ed. 1880.

pantheon. "Language and mythology," he wrote on his title-page, "constitute the internal, true, and only history of primitive races, and are by far the best exponents of their real condition as thinking and acting beings." This thought he expresses again and again, and some of his most interesting work is merely an expansion of it. Space precludes me, however, from entering on the complex questions to which it gives rise. I must confine myself to the remark that for the first time the materials were brought together for an intelligent study of the gods many and rites still more numerous which make up the religion of the non-Aryan tribes in the Himalaya.

It is not surprising that such an essay, bearing on every page the stamp of original research, should have attracted attention from scholars both in India and Europe. Dr. Latham referred with admiration to its "bold yet cautious criticism and varied observation."[1] "I have again and again ransacked the *Asiatic Researches* and other authorities for information on the ancient history of Bengal,"[2] wrote a more exacting specialist, Mr. Logan, "but I am convinced that in India history must be the slight superstructure and ethnology the solid basis. Hodgson will do more to clear away the rubbish and to restore the lost annals of the Gangetic valley than Lassen with all his erudition and talent for historic research." Lassen himself was a student of Hodgson's work and expressed his "high sense of admiration" for the services which Hodgson had rendered.[3]

But while Hodgson thus started, as was his wont, from the facts immediately under his observation, he discerned that they were capable of wide uses. He conceived the idea of a complete and systematic survey of the whole

[1] *Varieties of Man*, preface, p. 8.

[2] *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* for January and February 1854.

[3] Letter from Professor Chr. Lassen to B. H. Hodgson, dated November 20th, 1860.

non-Aryan races in India, with a view to working out their mutual affinities and of fixing their position among the great families of mankind. He accordingly solicited the aid of fellow-workers throughout every province of India in which the non-Aryan tribes still maintained their identity.

His essay on the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal served as a model for the facts which he sought to obtain in regard to each one of the far-scattered tribes. Finding, however, that that model involved a minute study and a continuity of research beyond the possibilities of Indian officials burdened with the daily duties of administration, he wisely curtailed his demands. He issued a shorter vocabulary of words for which the equivalents were to be obtained in every non-Aryan language in India. "So powerful a stimulus and so successful an example,"[1] to use the words of Professor Max Müller, created a whole school of fellow-labourers in this field of research, and the most distinguished members of that school have recorded the inspiration under which they worked.

"My investigations," wrote Laidlaw, the great student of the Karen tongue, "were originally undertaken to assist, however humbly, those researches on the aborigines of our own and the neighbouring countries which Mr. Hodgson is prosecuting with such admirable zeal and success."[2] Hodgson's list of words was adopted as a standard not only by private scholars, but by scientific departments of the Government of India. "The following vocabulary," observes Dr. Oldham, founder of the systematic geology of India, "is framed upon that given by Mr. Hodgson, and by him applied to so many Indian races and borderers."[3]

[1] Bunsen's *Philosophy of Universal History* applied to language and religion, I. 353. Ed. 1854.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part I., 1854.

[3] *On the Geological Structure of the Khasi Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District.* Quarto. Calcutta, 1854.

With unwearied patience Hodgson worked up the results thus obtained by himself and others. I have said that his ethnological papers form by far the largest part of his collected works. Indeed they would of themselves suffice for the sole labour of an industrious life. Their main result was to explore the ethnical affinities of the non-Aryan races in India, and to establish the common origin of many of these widely dispersed remnants of primeval man. He classed them as the Tamulian family of the colossal Turanian division of the human race. Some of his conclusions went too far. Some have been modified by the light of more recent research. With him philology was the handmaid of ethnology, and Turanian philology was then in its infancy. He was aware of the insufficiency of his standard list of words, and of the objections which might be raised alike to its contents and to their arrangement.[1] But those who have brought the most complete knowledge to the scrutiny of his work are the most appreciative of its merits.

To Professor Conrady I am indebted for a manuscript review extending over thirty-six pages, and dealing exhaustively with what Hodgson accomplished and with the points in which he fell short of success. A striking feature of this monograph, as of those kindly furnished to me by Professor Bendall and Dr. Austine Waddell on Hodgson's Buddhist researches, is the personal warmth of affection which they express to a man whose work was done nearly half a century ago. "Gratitude is due to him from all who, like myself," Professor Conrady writes to me, "are labourers in the field of Indo-Chinese comparative philology. Other branches of Indian learning may praise him for the untiring activity which has opened many new fields of labour; but Indo-Chinese philology must honour

[1] He took as its contracted basis the collection of words which Dr. Brown (the learned author of *Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language*, printed at Sibsagar in 1848) had adopted for the dialects of Further India.

in him a past master, I might even say its real founder. He was the bold pioneer who not only gathered in rich linguistic materials from regions hitherto scarcely known by name, but who also sifted the chaotic mass, and with a creative hand combined it into a family of many members."

He showed that the languages of Further India and of the Himalaya and Tibet (whose relationship he had intuitively divined as far back as 1827) formed with Chinese one closely related family. He maintained that the monosyllabic, the isolating, and polysyllabic agglutinating languages differed only in their degree of development and not essentially. He was the first discoverer of a connection between the tone accents and the auxiliaries. His proofs of a Turanian unity of language by a simple comparison of lists of words cannot hold its ground, and although he studied profoundly the grammatical structure of the languages, his materials in some cases fell short of scientific proof. Yet his materials led him also to brilliant discoveries in structure by which it has been established that the Indo-Chinese languages are based upon an original agglutinating form, such as is still possessed in rich varieties of development by the Ural-Altaic, Dravidian, and Kolarian tongues.[1]

Science does not forget the pathfinder. Professor Conrady thus concludes: "What is still more admirable than the glance of genius over spaces yet unsurveyed is the unselfish search after truth. I cannot, therefore, better close my review than with some words of Hodgson himself —words characteristic of his plan of work and of the strenuous fidelity of the worker: 'I trust that the whole tenour and substance of my essay on the Kocch, etc., will suffice to assure all candid persons that I am no advocate for sweeping conclusions from insufficient premisses; and

[1] The foregoing statements are condensed from Professor Conrady's elaborate MS. note, which will, I hope, be published hereafter in its complete German form.

that I desire to see the ethnology of India conducted upon the most extended scale, with careful weighing of every available item of evidence that is calculated to demonstrate the unity *or otherwise* of the Tamulian race.'"[1]

Each honest worker adds something, more or less, to the sum of knowledge. But the more of yesterday dwindles into the less of to-day, and the discoveries of one generation become the axioms of the next. The spirit abideth. At the end of this biography will be found a sufficient list of Hodgson's writings[2]—some two hundred erudite papers, four books, and three volumes of Collected Essays. It was a vast contribution from a single worker to human learning. Yet it is not the bulk of Hodgson's writings that makes the strongest impression on one who, like myself, has examined them as a whole. It is rather the original character of the materials which they furnish and of the sources whence they were drawn. There is, moreover, about them a quality which exercises a more enduring influence upon generous students of succeeding times than originality itself. It is the personality of the man. Everywhere we are struck by what Professor Conrady calls "the glance of genius"; by the freshness of a powerful intelligence; and by that single-minded search after truth which, even more than the quest of knowledge, forms the highest quality of a great investigator.

To Hodgson the Himalayan borders and their dwellers were not merely subjects for abstract research. He saw in those cool uplands a possible field for European colonisation which might become a new source of strength to the British Empire in India. This view he had early formed, and it grew upon him during his long retirement at Darjiling. In 1856 he urged it with so much force that the Bengal Government reprinted his paper as the first of

[1] Last paragraph of Dr. Conrady's MS. monograph. I thank Professor T. Miller of Strasburg for his kind aid in the translation of Dr. Conrady's manuscript.

[2] Appendices C and D, pp. 362-375.

its Selections from the Public Records in 1857.[1] He arrayed all the arguments furnished by the gradation of climates from the plains to the snows; by the robustness of European child-life in the hill station of Darjiling; and by the varied possibilities for farming afforded by the different degrees of moisture and the fertility of the soil.

Hodgson looked forward not only to the rearing of the more costly of sub-tropical products under European supervision in the Himalayas, but also to agricultural settlements by the British race. With "fifty to one hundred thousand loyal hearts and stalwart bodies of Saxon mould" on the Himalayas, he says, "our Empire in India might safely defy the world in arms against it."[2] This last expectation has not been fulfilled, nor does it seem likely that the European agriculturist will ever be able to compete with the cheap labour of the native hill-men in raising cereals and the ordinary class of crops. But Hodgson's other expectation has been abundantly accomplished. Tea-planting, which he singled out as the most suitable of the sub-tropical products for the Himalayas, has been developed with a success and upon a scale which not even he ventured to anticipate. When Hodgson wrote there seemed indeed to be little hope of such a development. But he himself had proved the possibility of growing tea when Resident in Nepal, and he persisted in calling attention to the field for European enterprise thus opened up in our own Himalayan districts.

"How much iteration is needed may be illustrated by the simple mention of the fact that the fitness of the Himalayas for tea-growing was fully ascertained twenty-five years ago in the valley of Nepal, a normal character-

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, published by authority, No. XXVII. (Calcutta, 1857). This paper was afterwards reprinted in the volume of Hodgson's Collected Essays, pp. 83 *et seq.* Trübner, 1874.

[2] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. XXVII., pp. 9, 10 (1857).

istic region as well in regard to position as to elevation. Tea seeds and plants were procured from China through the medium of the Cashmere merchants then located at Kathmandu. They were sown and planted in the Residency garden, where they flourished greatly, flowering and seeding as usual, and, moreover, grafts *ad libitum* were multiplied by means of the nearly allied *Eurya* (*Camellia*) *kisi* which, in the valley of Nepal as elsewhere throughout the Himalaya, is an indigenous and most abundant species. These favourable results were duly announced at the time to Dr. Abel, Physician to the Governor-General, an accomplished person with special qualifications for their just appreciation. And yet, in spite of all this, twenty years were suffered to elapse before any effective notice of so important an experiment could be obtained."[1]

The four hundred tea-plantations now (1896) established in Darjiling and along the outskirts of the hills, with the five millions sterling invested in them, besides the great area under tea in the neighbouring provinces of Assam and Cachar, form the best commentary on Hodgson's forecast. He saw, with a clearness of vision not given to any other man of his time, the opening which the Himalayan spurs and sub-montane tracts afforded for a new British industry in India.[2]

[1] Written in 1856. Hodgson's Collected Essays, pp. 87, 88 (1874).

[2] Tea-planting was experimentally conducted in Assam from 1834 onward, and rapidly developed after 1851. But the capabilities of Darjiling and the Duars, *i.e.* of the Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan districts, were first brought conspicuously before the Government and the public by Mr. Hodgson. The experimental tea-cultivation in the Residency garden in Nepal, that is to say, the first attempt to grow tea in a Himalayan district, was made by Hodgson himself.

CHAPTER XIII.

HODGSON AS A NATURALIST.

SAINTE-BEUVE quotes with approval the limits which Lord Jeffrey placed upon excursions by a man of letters into the domain of science. Hodgson's physical researches were so highly specialised that any such excursions into them by me would be unsafe and presumptuous. His zoological contributions to the Asiatic Society date from February 1824, when as a young Assistant Resident in Nepal he began to forward specimens of animals characteristic of the Himalayas—the wild dog of Tibet, the shawl goat, the four-horned sheep, and the yak-cow.[1] During the next seven years he made a careful study of the types around him,[2] and embodied the results in a paper on "The Mammalia of Nepal" for the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1831. This he followed up in 1836 by a synoptical *résumé* of the Mammalia of Tibet, and, after intermediate revisions, by a "Catalogue of the Mammals of Nepal and Tibet brought down to 1843," the last year of his residence in Nepal.[3]

Perhaps, however, his most valuable work for this department of zoology consisted of contributions on individual animals. His observations were made at first

[1] Letter from B. H. Hodgson to the Secretary of the Bengal Asiatic Society, dated February 29th, 1824.—Asiatic Society's MS. Records.

[2] His first article on birds, published in the *Gleanings in Science*, appeared in 1829; but on mammals a paper of his appeared as early as 1826, in *Tilloch's Magazine*, on the Chiru (*Pantholops Hodgsoni*), a new species of antelope, which was by him first made known, and a specimen sent to Dr. Abel, who described it and called it after Mr. Hodgson.

[3] *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*, Vol. IV., 1844, p. 284.

hand in the forests and mountains amid which they roamed, and which had never been explored by a European naturalist. He developed a faculty of accurate description and of anatomical drawing rarely acquired by a solitary self-taught worker, which made his contributions highly prized by the museums and Zoological Societies of Europe. Besides discovering thirty-nine new genera and species[1]—including the Budorcas Taxicolor, a new *genus* of bovine antelopes—he contributed no fewer than fifty-one separate papers on the Himalayan mammals to scientific bodies between the years 1830 and 1843, chiefly to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

On returning to India in 1845 he resumed work on the Himalayan mammals in his new Darjiling home. Twenty-nine papers on their species, habits, and structure contributed to scientific journals attest his activity in this department during the following period of his life, an activity continued down to 1858, the very last year of his stay in Bengal. A list of eighty of his papers on the Mammalia, from 1830 to 1858, will be found in Appendix D to this book. Charles Darwin in his *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, when discussing the origin of the domestic dog, mentions that Hodgson succeeded in taming the young of the *Canis primævus*, an Indian wild dog, and in making them as fond of him and as intelligent as ordinary dogs. Darwin was also indebted to Hodgson's writings for information on the occurrence of dew-claws in the Tibetan mastiff, and for other details of variations which he observed in the cattle, sheep, and goats of India.

Hodgson's special work as an Indian naturalist was done, however, not in the domain of mammal life, but as an ornithologist. A magnificent series of contributions

[1] I present his original discoveries in the department of mammals (39 genera or species) in the form of a list kindly drawn up by Mr. Lydekker and supplied for this book by Sir William Flower, K.C.B. (Appendix D).

to scientific journals, of which I am able to enumerate forty-two,[1] from 1827[2] to the last years of his residence in Bengal, gradually elevated him to the highest rank of original ornithologists of his day. Instead of myself attempting to form an estimate of his services to this branch of science, I shall confine myself to an appreciation of them kindly drawn up for me by the greatest of Indian ornithologists now living, Allan Octavian Hume, C.B.

MR. A. O. HUME ON HODGSON'S ORNITHOLOGICAL WORK.

"Mr. Hodgson's mind was many-sided, and his work extended into many fields of which I have little knowledge. Indeed of all the many subjects which, at various times, engaged his attention, there is only one with which I am well acquainted and in regard to his researches in which I am at all competent to speak. I refer of course to Indian Ornithology, and extensive as were his labours in this field, they absorbed, I believe, only a minor portion of his intellectual activities. Moreover his opportunities in this direction were somewhat circumscribed, for Nepal and Sikkim were the only provinces in our vast empire whose birds he was able to study in life for any considerable period. Yet from these two comparatively small provinces he added fully a hundred and fifty good new species to the Avi-fauna of the British Asian Empire, and few and far between have been the new species subsequently discovered within the limits he explored.

But this detection and description of previously unknown species was only the smaller portion of his contributions to Indian Ornithology. He trained Indian

[1] Given in Appendix D. I have reason to infer that this list is incomplete.

[2] Letter from B. H. Hodgson to the Bengal Asiatic Society, dated March 8th, 1827, forwarding a new species of snipe and stating in what it differs from the common kind. There may perhaps be earlier communications from Hodgson on Himalayan birds in the Society's MS. Records.

artists to paint birds with extreme accuracy from a scientific point of view, and under his careful supervision admirable large-scale pictures were produced, not only of all the new species above referred to, but also of several hundred other already recorded ones, and in many cases of their nests and eggs also. These were continually accompanied by exact, life-size, pencil drawings of the bills, nasal orifices, legs, feet, and claws (the scutellation of the tarsi and toes being reproduced with photographic accuracy and minuteness), and of the arrangement of the feathers in crests, wings, and tails. Then on the backs of the plates was preserved an elaborate record of the colours of the irides, bare facial skin, wattles, legs, and feet, as well as detailed measurements, all taken from fresh and numerous specimens, of males, females, and young of each species, and over and above all this, invaluable notes as to food (ascertained by dissection), nidification and eggs, station, habits, constituting as a whole materials for a life-history of many hundred species such as I believe no one ornithologist had ever previously garnered.

His numerous papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and elsewhere, gave to the scientific world some portions of the information thus collected, information which has been freely utilised by subsequent writers. A good deal more was reproduced from his notes in my *Game Birds of India* and *Nests and Eggs of Indian Birds*, but I fear that a still larger portion remains which, owing to changes in numbers, dislocation of sheets, fading ink, and half-obliterated pencil writing, only he himself could have utilised as it merited.

Without overlooking the good work of Horsfield, Sykes, Raffles, Walden, Tickell, Hutton, and others of the past generation in the East, or of Boddaert, Latham, Shaw, Temminck, Gould, Jardine, and many others in the West, we may yet safely affirm that the great advance made in our knowledge of the birds of British India during the last fifty years has been more directly due to the labours of

three men—Blyth, Hodgson, Jerdon—than to those of any six others, if not of *all* others put together.

Of these three, Blyth, from the force of circumstances, was in India mainly a cabinet naturalist; his chief work being to stir up others to collect and observe, to name new species coming to the Museum, and lay the foundations of a comprehensive synthesis of our Indian birds. Several of his monographs in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* show how thoroughly qualified he would, under more favourable conditions, have become to write a scientifically satisfactory history of our Avi-fauna; but ill-health and domestic troubles, and the relentless pressure of the almost mechanical work of the Museum in a damp hot climate inimical to Natural History collections, combined to bar Blyth's path, and he passed away leaving perhaps less tangible records of his great work than Jerdon who was in many respects his disciple.

Jerdon on the other hand was a field naturalist *pur sang*, who had himself shot and watched in a wild state more than half of the species that he included in his book. He was an ornithologist first and last, and though he dabbled with mammals and reptiles in later life, he gave all his best days and thoughts to birds. Jerdon had great perseverance, and defective as it may now appear to us, he produced the first comprehensive work on India's birds. But how much of this is really Blyth's, with whom he worked morning, noon, and night whilst writing the work and passing it through the press, I doubt whether either he or Blyth himself had any idea.

Hodgson combined much of Blyth's talent for classification with much of Jerdon's habit of persevering personal observation, and excelled the latter in literary gifts and minute and exact research. But with Hodgson ornithology was only a pastime or at best a *parergon*, and humble a branch of science as is ornithology, it is yet like all other branches a jealous mistress demanding an undivided allegiance; and hence with, I think, on the whole, higher

qualifications, he exercised practically somewhat less influence on ornithological evolution than either of his great contemporaries.

But I need not seek to discriminate too nicely between this illustrious trio who all three, directly and indirectly, powerfully influenced their own and next succeeding generation, and by their words and works raised up scores of followers to complete and perfect the work they had so effectively inaugurated. Enough that there is no Indian ornithologist living to whom the memories of these three great pioneers are not dear and sacred, and that so long as this fascinating study has any votaries in our Indian Empire, so long will the names of Blyth, Hodgson, and Jerdon be remembered, cherished, and revered."

Thus far Mr. Hume. It remains for me to present in the fewest words a summary of Hodgson's zoological contributions as a whole. "As a collector," writes Mr. W. T. Blanford, "he was at the time unrivalled."[1] Besides the numerous specimens shot, skinned, and stuffed or preserved by himself, and given by him to the Asiatic Society and other public institutions between 1827 and 1843, he made two magnificent donations aggregating 10,499 specimens to the British Museum. The first of these collections, as we saw at a previous page,[2] was arranged at Canterbury on his visit to England and made over to the British Museum in 1844. The second was presented to the Museum on his final return from India in 1858.

The two collections placed at the disposal of the British Museum, and from which it made its selections, included 9,512 specimens of birds, 903 of mammals, and 84 of reptiles: total 10,499.

"In the *List of the Specimens of Mammalia in the Collection of the British Museum* published in 1843,"

[1] *Natural Science*, a Monthly Review, No. 30, August 1894, p. 152.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 240.

writes Mr. W. T. Blanford, "Mr. Hodgson's name is attached, in the 'Index of Donations,' to a larger number of references than any other donor's, and at this time only his first contribution to the national collection had been received. Subsequently two separate catalogues of his presented collections were published, one in 1846, the other in 1863."

The large selections thus made by the British Museum did not, however, exhaust Hodgson's collections. The Museums of Paris, Leyden, Edinburgh, Dublin, and other national or university institutions of the kind in Europe, America, and India, were enriched by his munificent donations. The distinctions showered upon him by the Zoological Societies of many countries attest their grateful sense of his scientific work.

It was as a draughtsman and accurate describer of new varieties and species that Hodgson rendered his crowning service to ornithology. His drawings, done by himself or by paid assistants whom he trained, cover about 2,000 folio sheets,[1] many of them containing several subjects. This magnificent collection was also placed by Hodgson at the disposal of the British Museum, which retained a certain number, including 55 sheets of reptiles. The remainder, comprising 1,241 sheets of birds and 567 of mammals, he presented to the Zoological Society of London in 1874.[2]

Of these donations Mr. W. T. Blanford writes: "A better idea of Mr. Hodgson's energy than any that can be derived from lists of specimens or even from a perusal of his papers is afforded by the drawings presented by him to the British Museum, or, still better, by the original copies that have found an appropriate resting-place in the Library of the Zoological Society of London. These

[1] I have details of 1,863 sheets, namely Birds 1,241 sheets, Mammals 567 sheets, Reptiles 55 sheets.

[2] "Of these so given, 1,115 sheets of birds were lent in 1870 to A. O. Hume, C.B., for his projected work, conditioned that they be delivered to the Zoological Society when done with."—Note by Hodgson in his Private Papers.

drawings represent many hundreds of mammals and birds, and fill several large folio volumes, the same species being sometimes drawn three or four times. Each sheet, besides the figure of the whole animal, generally contains drawings of details of the external and internal structure, and the paper is crowded with manuscript notes on the localities, habits of life, breeding, nidification, and measurements.

"In some respects he was in advance of the science of the day. He was fully alive to the importance of geographical distribution, and was the first to attempt a demarcation of the zones of life, resulting from differences of elevation, in the Himalayas."[1]

With these words I close the present chapter. I have tried to show from Hodgson's Private Papers the quantity or volume of his zoological work. Its quality can be judged of only by experts. "His papers," wrote his illustrious fellow-worker Jerdon, "are distinguished by a deep research and great acumen."[2] "No wonder," says the Hungarian record of his services, "that the great scientific institutions of Europe have overwhelmed him with honours."[3]

[1] *Natural Science*, August 1894, p. 152.

[2] Preface to *The Birds of India*, by Dr. T. C. Jerdon. Calcutta, 1862—1864, 3 vols.; and 1877, 2 vols.

[3] Obituary notice in the *Vasarnapi Ujsag* of Budapest, August 11th, 1895.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHAMPION OF VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

HODGSON was best known to the Indian world of his day as the champion of popular education in the mother-tongues of the people. During the first twenty years of his service a controversy gradually waxed fierce as to whether the vehicle for higher instruction in Bengal should be the English language or the classical languages of India. The dispute reached its height in 1835, the English party being chiefly represented by Lord Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Orientalists by Horace Hayman Wilson, Henry Thoby Prinsep, and John Russell Colvin. The necessity of developing a system of State education for India on a great scale had become imperative, but the equal balance and incompatible demands of these two parties brought about a dead-lock.

"All educational action had been at a standstill for some time back," writes the son of Sir Charles Trevelyan and nephew of Lord Macaulay, "on account of an irreconcilable difference of opinion in the Committee of Public Instruction: which was divided five against five on either side of a controversy, vital, inevitable, admitting of neither postponement nor compromise, and conducted by both parties with a pertinacity and a warmth that was nothing but honourable to those concerned."[1]

At this point Hodgson struck into the controversy. He declared that if the education of the Indian peoples were

[1] *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by Sir George Otto Trevelyan, M.P., Vol. I., p. 400. Ed. 1876.

to become a reality it must be conducted neither in English nor in the classical languages of India, but in the living vernaculars of each province. To the heated disputants Hodgson seemed to be proposing "a middle course." The great Sanskrit scholar of Bengal in our day described it as a "via media" which failed at the moment to obtain adoption.[1] But, in point of fact, Hodgson raised the whole previous question as to the proper aim and scope of State instruction in Bengal. His two letters in 1835 "On the Education of the People of India" lifted the subject out of the arena of academic controversy, and relegated the wranglings of Anglicists and Orientalists to the somewhat comical place which they now occupy in Indian history. Hodgson's proposals became the basis of Indian Public Instruction through the medium of the vernacular tongues, as adopted by the Court of Directors' Despatch of 1854 and as finally reorganised by the Education Commission of 1882. In order to understand the permanent effects of his labours in this field, it is needful to glance back at the state of opinion when he emerged upon the scene.

The Indians have always enjoyed the reputation of being a learned people.[2] Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador to the Gangetic Court about 300 B.C., found a grave and polished society; and the rich stores of Sanskrit literature surviving to the present day confirm his description. The education of a Brahman, according to the four prescribed stages of his life, extended over at least twelve years. The Buddhist supremacy in India placed instruction on a more popular basis. The vast monastery of Nalanda in the seventh century A.D. compares, as to the number and zeal of its students, with the much later universities of mediæval Europe. After the Muhammadan

[1] Rajendra Lala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., in the preface to his *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. vii, viii. Calcutta, 1882.

[2] I condense this and the next paragraph from the *Report of the Indian Education Commission of* 1882, paras. 19 and 20.

conquest of India in the eleventh century the Mosque also became a centre of instruction and literary activity. Alike among the Musalmans and the Hindus the promotion of education on the basis of the classical languages of India formed a recognised duty of the State.

The East India Company, on succeeding to the sovereignty of Hindustan, aimed only at discharging the duties fulfilled by the previous Ruling Powers. It respected educational endowments, and for a time confined its own educational activity to the foundation of Hindu and Muhammadan seats of learning of the ancient type. But by degrees the need of training native officers in the language of the conquerors called into existence schools of a new type. The Parliamentary Charter of 1813 provided a yearly sum of Rs. 100,000 from the revenues for education. In 1823 the Indian Government appointed a Committee of Public Instruction to superintend the expenditure. This body was guided by two fundamental principles. First, to discharge the traditional duty of the Ruling Power by encouraging the instruction which the learned classes really desired—that is to say, instruction in the sacred or classical languages of India. Second, as its school-fund was inadequate for any system of general education, to apply it to the instruction of the higher classes, in the hope that education might filter down through them to the people.

It was in the application of these principles that an irreconcilable difference arose. The learned section of the upper classes clung to their old types of education in Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. The other desired an education in the English tongue which would fit their sons for professional and official careers. In 1834 [Lord] Macaulay who had newly arrived as Law Member of Council, was appointed President to the Committee of Public Instruction. On February 2nd, 1835, he penned as Member of Council the famous minute which practically decided the subject.

"How stands the case?" he wrote.[1] "We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language"—that is to say either English, or the classical languages of India such as Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian, which were equally "foreign" to the common people. "The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this [English] language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Macaulay's powerful advocacy, with its mingled argument and sarcasm, carried the day with the Governor-General. Lord William Bentinck issued a Resolution declaring that the medium of higher State education in India should be the English language. But Hodgson, in his quiet retreat in Nepal, was neither convinced by the arguments nor frightened by the wit of the brilliant new Member of Council. To Macaulay's clear-cut conclusions, formed after a few months' residence in Bengal, Hodgson modestly but firmly opposed the views which he had arrived at after nearly twenty years of Indian study and experience. He published two letters in the *Friend of India*, then the leading newspaper in Bengal, in which he

[1] Minute in Council, dated February 2nd, 1835, quoted in Sir George Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, Vol. I., pp. 401 and 402. Ed. 1876.

traversed the major premiss on which Macaulay's whole argument rested.[1] Macaulay started by assuming that "we have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue," and he presupposed the impossibility of giving sound instruction in the classical languages of India.

"These assumptions," replied Hodgson, "appear to me somewhat hasty and unfounded." He declared that the true issue had not been stated. That issue, he maintained, was not as between English and the ancient classical languages of India, but as between English and the living vernacular languages of India. Taking Bengali as an example, "the language of thirty-seven millions," he pointed out that it had already good dictionaries and grammars, and possessed an adequate "precision and compass," while its close relationship to Sanskrit afforded "means of enrichment by new terms competent to express any imaginable modification of thought."[2] If any scheme of public instruction were really to reach the Indian peoples, it must take as its basis their mother-tongues.

It would be easy to multiply quotations. But these words state so clearly the principle for which Hodgson contended during the next twenty years, and which at the end of those twenty years finally triumphed, that amplification seems uncalled for. He was careful, however, not to deny the possibility of English eventually becoming the language of education in India. But he urged that

[1] *Two Letters on the Education of the People of India*, by B. H. Hodgson, dated August and September 1835; republished, with further material, at the Serampur Press in 1837; again amplified and republished as four letters in 1843; again as seven letters in 1848; and finally edited with additions in Hodgson's Collected Works (*Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II., 1888, pp. 255 to 348).

[2] Letter No. I., dated August 1835.—Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 264 (Trübner, 1880). I give references to this edition as it is the one most available to the British public. But in each case I quote from the original Indian edition of the letters.

so great a revolution demanded an expenditure of money and of force altogether beyond the powers of the Indian Education Department at that time. "No one asserts,"[1] he said, "that it is impossible to change the speech of this vast continent. It is only contended that the attempt is of all others the most difficult, and one for which your means are enormously disproportionate to the end. You are a drop literally in the ocean; and a drop, too, separated from the mass of waters by the strongest antipathy."

As to the alleged "eagerness of the people of India to drink our knowledge undiluted from the fountain-head of English," Hodgson answered: "They cannot and they may not so drink. They have neither the means, nor the will, nor the permission to do so. The English language is too costly for them. Let it be granted," which Hodgson himself by no means granted, "that the first object is to disenchant the popular mind of India. Do you propose to break the spell which now binds it by the facilities and attractions of the English language? Or do you imagine that those magicians to whom the spell is power and wealth and honour unbounded, and whose vigilance has maintained its unabated influence for three thousand years, have, merely to serve your ends, been suddenly stricken with infatuation? To them belong the parents' minds; to the parents, the minds of the children."[2]

Hodgson further maintained that such a sudden awakening, even if possible, was not to be desired. He insisted on the danger of artificially forcing on the education of the higher classes, while the people at large were left out in the dark. So one-sided a system, he urged, would arm the few with a new power over the many. It would also, at the cost of Government, rear up a vast class of English-educated young men who would look to political or official careers which the Government would be unable

[1] Letter No. I. of 1835.—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 275. Ed. 1880.

[2] Letter No. II. (1835).—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., pp. 291, 292.

to provide for them. "For my part, I cannot help thinking that the dilettante as well as exotic character of the steps we have taken in the Educational Department could not have had any other result than that of sending forth a host of grandiloquent grumblers, as able to clamour as unable to work."[1] These words, be it remembered, he wrote half a century ago. He maintained that not only justice but expediency demanded that with this hot-house education of the ambitious clerkly classes in India, the instruction of the people should go hand-in-hand. For such popular instruction he urged that the vernacular languages formed the only possible instrument.

Hodgson clearly realised the difficulties of the scheme which he thus propounded. He knew that an improved vernacular education for India involved an improvement alike in the methods and in the textbooks of the vernacular schools. But he maintained that such improvements had a claim at least equal to the claims of higher instruction in English on "the small educational fund in the hands of Government." "Though I give the mother-tongues of the people the first and second place, I give English the third; and in my Normal College, which is not so much an educational establishment as an indirect means of making all such establishments efficient, I would have the *alumni* equally versed in both tongues—their own and ours."[2]

Finally, Hodgson maintained that not only justice and political expediency but also the actual needs of the Administration required the recognition of vernacular instruction. A leading object of English teaching was to supply a "superior class of subordinate native functionaries" who would conduct their duties in the English language. "That notion," said Hodgson, "is founded

[1] Letter No. V. (1848).—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., pp. 328, 329. Ed. 1880.

[2] Letter No. IV. (1843).—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 321. Ed. 1880.

upon a want of intimate information of the interior economy of this country." The actual administration of India at that time, and for many years to come, could only be conducted in the languages of the people. "Whilst the old class" of officials, wrote Hodgson, "are toiling in their vocation from youth upwards, and thus slowly attaining that exquisite skill in details which needs only the general knowledge of Europeans for purposes of superintendence, the new class are learning Shakespeare and Milton, Bacon and Newton; and with that sort of training only they are despatched into the interior to become officials, possessed of but a poor and mimicked semblance of our own peculiar knowledge, though purchased at the expense of all their own. Yet it is expected that grave men, responsible for the weal of the country, should prefer the claims to office of one of these young parrots to the claims of persons growing grey in the constant discharge of the complex peculiar duties of that all-important body of functionaries, the professional scribes of the East, upon whose shoulders from time immemorial has ever rested the real burden of administration. If justice did not forbid such supersession, expedience would. The Europeans cannot possibly dispense with the old class of functionaries; cannot possibly get through the work with the help of the new class: and thus the scheme which looks so well at Calcutta, finds no serious approver or adopter in the interior."[1]

The means by which Hodgson hoped to give effect to his scheme were threefold. c First, the recognition of the claims of vernacular education along with those of English and Sanskrit to State encouragement, and as far as the funds permitted to State support. Second, the production of improved textbooks in the vernaculars which should impart a sound instruction on the subjects with which they dealt. Third, the training of vernacular teachers by Normal Schools and "a Normal Vernacular College for school-

[1] Letter No. V. (1848).—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 328. Ed. 1880.

masters and translators." In short Hodgson advocated popular education for India as opposed to a system of English and Sanskrit education. He opposed the "infiltration theory" of Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck by which they hoped to see high education trickle downwards from the favoured classes to the neglected ones. He combatted the then dominant view that the duty of Government was to create new institutions on its own models rather than to develop the existing ones of native growth. He powerfully opposed the accepted thesis "that reconstruction and not improvement was the business of" State education in Bengal.[1]

"You have an indigenous system of vernacular instruction," he urged again and again, "which has slowly and naturally grown out of the wants of the people. Build upon it."

In this view Hodgson received support from an unexpected source. Up to 1835 it was but vaguely understood that such a system of indigenous education did exist. In 1835 the wide ramifications of that system began for the first time to be carefully explored. Mr. John Adam, originally a missionary, issued the first of his three reports containing the results of his inquiries in the Bengal districts as to the number and the working of the indigenous schools. The system which he advocated was based essentially on the old village organisation of the Hindus.[2] Under that system each village had not only its head and its accountant, but its carpenter, smith, potter, barber, washerwoman, and last, although not least, its schoolmaster.[3] Mr. Adam estimated that a hundred thousand such schools existed in the Lower Provinces of Bengal alone, and he earnestly pleaded for their recognition and

[1] Mr. A. P. Howell's *Note on Education in India*, quoted *Report of Indian Education Commission of* 1882, para. 32.

[2] The Rev. James Long's preface to the reprint of Mr. John Adam's *Reports*, p. 9. Home Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1868.

[3] The Guru Mahashay.

improvement.[1] He failed, however, at the time to secure the support of the Government, which had then just pledged itself to Macaulay's more ambitious scheme of English education. "No general effort was, however, made to assist or improve the indigenous schools until 1855."[2]

But although Mr. Adam failed in his immediate object, the clear recognition that a widespread system of indigenous education existed by its own vitality in Bengal gave weight to Hodgson's pleadings in favour of vernacular education. Hodgson's idea was to develop vernacular instruction to a higher standard than that of the village hedge-schools. Attempts had already been made in this direction. At the beginning of the century Mr. Ellerton established certain vernacular schools at Malda, and devoted the leisure hours of his Indigo-Factory life to composing Bengali books for the use of the pupils. In 1814 Mr. May, a missionary, started a vernacular school in the old Dutch fort of Chinsura, and at his too early death in 1818 he left behind him thirty-six such schools with three thousand pupils.

Other missionaries established a number of vernacular schools in the rural districts. "Crowds attended the schools. But their efforts, through not having suitable successors, were not followed up."[3] Captain Stewart, however, threw himself into the breach, and between 1816 and 1818 introduced printed books into the vernacular schools, notwithstanding the first alarms that the use of anything save manuscript might destroy the children's caste. In 1819 the Calcutta School Book Society[4] took up the work with larger resources.

This promising period was soon overshadowed by the all-absorbing controversy between the Anglicists and

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission of* 1882, para. 32.

[2] *Idem.*

[3] The Rev. James Long's preface to Mr. John Adam's *Reports*, p. 2.

[4] Originally founded in 1817. Several other philanthropists and philanthropic societies contributed to the good work, conspicuously the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge from about 1822 onwards.

Orientalists. High English education and the "downward infiltration theory" carried the day. The Council of Education reiterated its decision "that our efforts should be at first concentrated to the chief towns" "in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars an educational reform will descend to the rural vernacular schools."[1]

But it was no longer with humble-minded missionaries that the Department of State Education had now to contend. Hodgson's distinguished services as a high political officer and his European reputation as a scholar compelled it to reconsider the views for which he so earnestly and so persistently pleaded. By 1838 it began to be recognised, not merely in Bengal but throughout all India, that a new force was at work. The great missionary scholar of Bombay, Dr. John Wilson, wrote in 1838 as follows: "Mr. Hodgson's advocacy of the vernaculars is most powerful and convincing. They must be the medium of the regeneration of India, as they have been in every country on the face of the globe."[2]

The Bengal authorities, although they shrank from so complete a change of front, acknowledged the weight of authority which was being arrayed against them. "No one has more earnestly urged," says their Education Report of 1838, "the duty of communicating European knowledge to the natives than Mr. Hodgson; no one has more powerfully shown the importance of employing the vernacular languages for accomplishing that object; no one has more eloquently illustrated the necessity of conciliating the learned and of making them our coadjutors in the great work of a nation's regeneration."[3]

Hodgson steadily went on with his work, and three

[1] Quoted in the Rev. James Long's preface to Mr. John Adam's *Reports*, p. 12.

[2] Letter from Dr. John Wilson of Bombay to L. Wilkinson, Esq., Political Agent at Bhopal, dated October 26th, 1838.

[3] Third Report on Education in Bengal, p. 200 (1838).

years later the victory was practically won. "The progress of the principles of Normal and vernacular education cannot now be checked," Sir W. O'Shaughnessy publicly declared in 1841.[1] The actual facts "have deprived the anti-vernacular party of even a pretext for advocating the exclusive use either of English or of the learned native tongues. Let those who wish well to India, and desire to see its inhabitants flourish in knowledge, visit the secondary schools of the New Medical College, and they will see the firstfruits of the Normal system. I have felt it an imperative duty to publish these important facts. It is the only contribution I can offer to the measures of the eminent and wise philanthropist [Hodgson] under whose auspices Normal instruction is now claiming public support."

By this time Hodgson had definitely formulated his demands for a Normal Vernacular College and for the issue of improved vernacular textbooks by trained translators. The Anglo-Indian press, which had for some time hesitated, struck in vigorously on his side. "It is a plan," wrote the *Calcutta Englishman* in 1841,[2] "which calls loudly for the support of Government, and we cannot doubt that it will meet with the hearty concurrence of the Home authorities and the Home public." Indeed the Indian press now began to regard the tardiness of the Committee of Public Instruction to carry out Hodgson's views as a sign that it had got out of touch with the times and required reformation. "The publication of Mr. Hodgson's proposals," wrote the other leading journal of Bengal in 1842, "to found a Normal College for training translators and schoolmasters, and the noble support he offers from his own purse (Rs. 5,000), are calculated to give a new impulse to the flagging cause of Vernacular Education, and to inspire the hope that a successful effort

[1] Professor Sir W. O'Shaughnessy's Address to the Medical College, Calcutta, November 17th, 1841.

[2] October 30th.

may yet be made, without waiting for the renovation of the Committee of Public Instruction. If his plan can be carried into execution, a beginning will have been made, a very great point gained, and the introduction of Vernacular Education before the lapse of another century will be put beyond doubt."[1]

This result was destined to be accomplished long before "the lapse of another century." The feeling that the then existing system of public instruction was inadequate to the needs of the people became a fixed conviction. The reference by the *Englishman* to the Home authorities was founded upon a perception that the reform required a stronger hand than was likely to be applied to it in India. At length in 1854, after years of inquiry and consideration, the Court of Directors spoke out in language which could admit of no mistake. Its famous Despatch of that year set forth, in the words of Lord Dalhousie, "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Supreme or any Local Government could ever have ventured to suggest."[2] While recognising the importance of English instruction, it declared vernacular education to be the basis of State education in India.

The Despatch of 1854 called the special attention of the Indian Government to the question "how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts," and it desired that "the active measures of Government should be more specially directed for the future to this object." These instructions were reiterated again and again by the Home authorities from 1854 onwards, just as Hodgson had again and again reiterated the arguments on which they were founded during the preceding twenty years. "The resources

[1] The *Friend of India*, October 7th, 1842.

[2] Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department, dated February 3rd, 1882.

of the State," runs a Despatch of 1864, "ought to be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves; and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education."[1]

But a change takes place slowly in India; and however urgent we may be for our own individual reforms, it is well for India and for its British Government that change does very slowly take place. The traditions of the Public Instruction authorities were in favour of the higher English instruction, and vernacular education for a time remained a step-child of the Department. "Thirty years ago," said the President of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1866, "Mr. Hodgson most ably advocated the pre-eminence of the vernaculars in a series of letters, the arguments of which still remain unanswered."[2] Four years later a petition from certain nobles and gentlemen of Bengal to the Governor-General found it again necessary to insist on this view. "We have no resource but to adopt the vernacular as the medium for the communication to the people generally of European learning, and we would do well to bear in mind the observations of Mr. Hodgson on" "the diffusion of knowledge in India."[3]

It was not, however, till 1883 that Mr. Hodgson's views received their full development at the hands of the Government of India. Mr. Hodgson was by that time an old man in his eighty-fourth year. But I can personally testify, as President of the Commission which then made broad the foundations of State education in India, that his interest in the question was unabated. Our instructions from the Supreme Government were to so reorganise education in India that "the different branches of public instruction should if possible move forward together, and with more equal step than hitherto. The principal

[1] Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, No. 13, dated April 25th, 1864.

[2] President's Address at the Meeting of May 1866.

[3] Education Return to the House of Commons, July 1870, p. 319.

object therefore of the inquiry of the Commission should be the present state of elementary education throughout the [Indian] Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved."[1]

It is not needful to detail the steps by which effect was given to these instructions. It must suffice to say that, after visiting each of the great provinces of India, examining a hundred and ninety-three witnesses, and considering three hundred and twenty-three memorials signed by over a quarter of a million of persons, a plan was carefully worked out. The vernacular languages were definitely recognised as the medium of instruction, not only in the indigenous and primary schools, but also in a great part of the curriculum of secondary education. Hodgson's views received a precision and an extension which, when he began his advocacy of popular education fifty years previously, he had not dared to hope for. The primary schools ceased to be regarded as mere nurseries for forcing up little boys into English-teaching institutions. The Commission definitely declared "that primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University."[2]

Of the four million pupils in Indian schools and colleges recognised by the State in the last year of Hodgson's life, three and a half millions[3] were receiving education entirely in the vernacular, and the remainder partly in the vernacular and partly in the English language. This was the result for which Hodgson began to labour as a young man of thirty-five, and which he saw accomplished at the age of ninety-four.

[1] Resolution of the Government of India, dated February 3rd, 1882, para. 8.

[2] Indian Education Commission's Report of 1883, para. 676.

[3] Parliamentary Statistical Abstract Relating to British India, for 1893-4.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION: LAST YEARS.

WE have seen that his wife's failing health induced Hodgson to quit India for good in 1858. But another reason also weighed heavily with him. His mother had died in 1851, and his father, old and solitary, pined for the companionship of his only remaining son. Such pleadings from a father of ninety-two are difficult to resist: with a devoted son like Hodgson they were irresistible. He had intended to complete the materials for his History of Nepal during another year in Darjiling, and, having sent home Mrs. Hodgson in 1857, to follow her at the end of 1858 or early in 1859. But on receiving the news of his father's illness he resolved to sail for Europe at once.

"The General[1] and Ellen's letters just to hand," he wrote to his wife at the end of 1857, "speak most despondently of my father's state, and of the ardent hopes he has of my speedy presence. So I must cast away my long-cherished ambition of writing that History of Nepal for which I have been collecting materials during half my life, and hasten to do my duty to those most dear to me. I shall hardly have a month at Darjiling, and must then hurry down to Calcutta to prepare for my voyage."

Hodgson knew well that this sudden departure meant the frustration of his life's work. The manuscripts which he had already collected for the History of Nepal filled three large boxes and are set forth in Appendix B. But

[1] General the Baron Huibert Gerard Nahuys, who married Hodgson's sister Ellen.

although copious they were not yet complete, and they failed to furnish a continuous narrative. Hodgson had however the satisfaction of knowing that, although too late to see his father alive, he had done his utmost to gratify his last wish. The old man died in January 1858, at the age of ninety-two.

Hodgson had counted the cost, and he paid it without a murmur. He had already distributed his other collections, manuscripts and zoological specimens and drawings, to the great libraries and museums of England and the Continent. On his return to Europe he found a new generation of scholars at work on them, and he deemed it unfitting to reappear as a competitor in a field on which he had won triumphs forty years before. The same considerations influenced his decision in regard to the History of Nepal. Dr. Oldfield, appointed Residency Surgeon in Nepal in 1850, seven years after Hodgson had completed his long term as Resident and retired from the public service, was already amassing materials for the two posthumous volumes which bear his name.[1] Before long an investigator more laborious and more exact, Dr. Daniel Wright, was appointed to the same post as Surgeon to the Resident at Kathmandu.[2] Other inquirers into the Nepalese annals also began to appear on the scene. Hodgson felt that it would be alike undignified and ungenerous for him to enter the lists against these younger men. He accordingly, as we have seen,[3] made over his collections for a History of Nepal to the India Office Library in 1864, for the use of all workers in the field of Nepalese research. In this act as in every other, his single thought was not to win fame for himself, but to render his original collections available to the world of scholars.

[1] *Sketches from Nepal, Historical and Descriptive*, by the late Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M.D. 2 Vols., London, 1880.

[2] His work, a History of Nepal from the *Parbataya* and other native chronicles, is still the standard account of the Nepalese dynasties. Cambridge University Press, 1877.

[3] *Ante*, pp. 268, 269.

With this gift to the India Office in 1864, Hodgson's life as a public worker comes to an end. It is only with his life as a worker that the present volume deals. In regard to the thirty years of private happiness that still lay before him, he himself would have desired me to be brief. For he felt strongly that a man's claim to recognition from the world is the work which he does for the world.

The fewest words, therefore, are best. On his arrival in England in 1858, he had the reward of seeing his wife recover her strength, and of himself starting on a new life of robust health such as he had never before known. The truth seems to be that the Hodgson constitution was peculiarly liable to the complaints incident to the Indian climate. His two brothers died young of Indian fever on the plains; he only managed to keep himself alive through a life-long struggle with fever and liver by residence in the hills. On the other hand, the family constitution had unusual powers of resistance to the ailments which shorten human life in the temperate zone. His six immediate progenitors, male and female, averaged the great age of eighty-five years, the youngest among them dying at seventy-five. When set free from the unfavourable conditions in India which had killed his two brothers, his constitution reasserted its hereditary vigour, and he exceeded even the family term of longevity, by living in perfect health and with all his faculties complete to the age of ninety-four.

On his return to England he took up his abode at The Rangers, Dursley, in Gloucestershire; partly to be near his wife's parents who lived at Cheltenham. In 1867 he migrated to the beautiful Grange at Alderley under the Cotswold Hills, and there he spent the remainder of his days. In January 1868 he underwent a great sorrow—the loss of his wife. Her father and mother, General and Mrs. Scott, had formed a very united family with the Hodgsons

since the return of the latter from India, and both the father and mother died in his house.[1] In the second year of his widowerhood he married Susan, daughter of the Rev. Chambré Townshend of Derry, County Cork, and granddaughter of General Oliver, R.A. Twenty-five years of married life still lay before him—a life of unclouded happiness with a wife capable of sharing his interests, much younger than himself, yet devoted to him with the perfect affection which noble natures inspire and feel.

It was in 1868 that I became acquainted with Hodgson. I was then a young Indian civilian at home on sick-leave, and writing a book on the non-Aryan races of Bengal. I can never forget the first impression which he made upon me. His tall spare figure, finely cut features, ruddy cheeks, abundant grey hair, military moustache, and a certain air of distinction with which he held himself erect as he stood welcoming me on his door-step, by no means suggested the venerable scholar whom I had always associated with his name. He might have been a famous general, or an ambassador in retreat, or a country gentleman of the courtly school who had kept his figure at its best by field-sports—in fact anything rather than the learned recluse who had made a European reputation long before I was born.

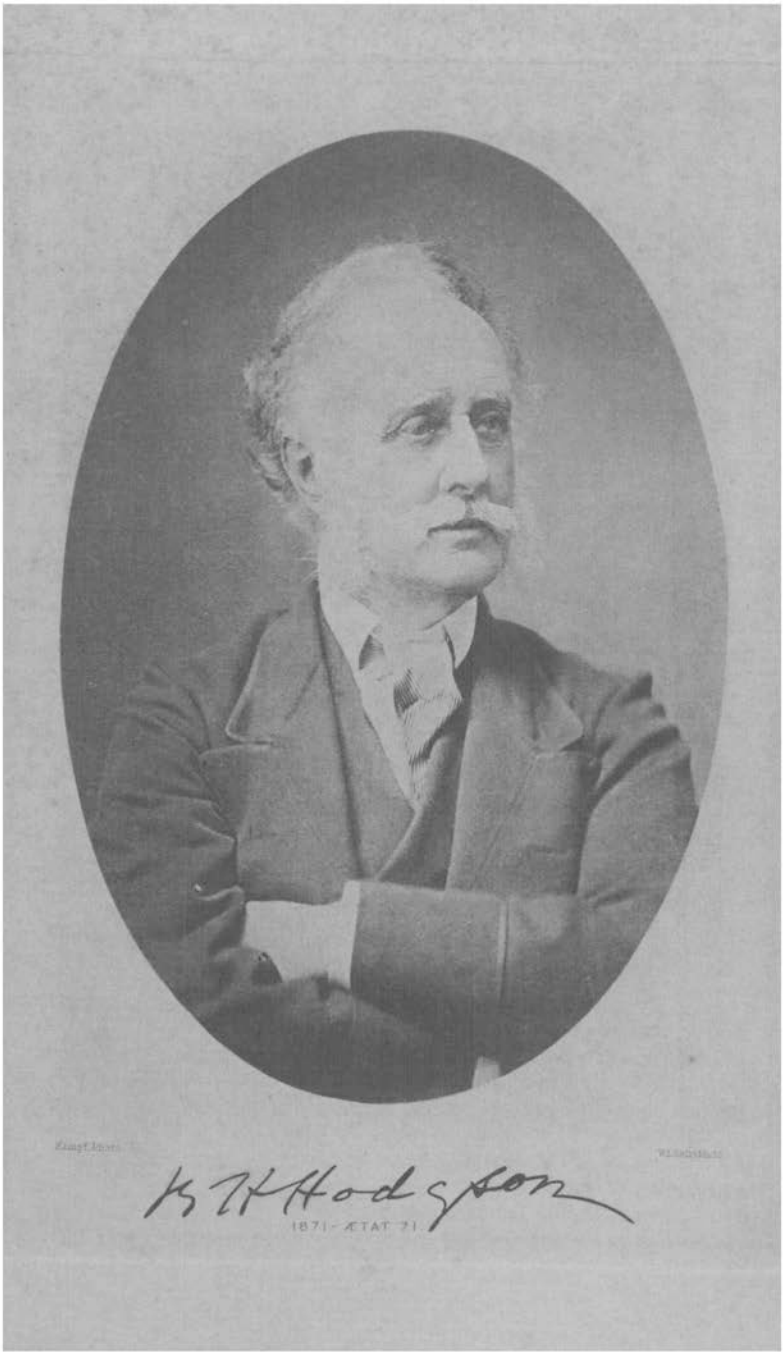
As I came to know him better I found that his charm of manner concealed a wealth of erudition which, living as he did among country neighbours, he was shy of dis-

[1] The Family Tablet of the Scotts in Londonderry Cathedral thus records their deaths:—

"Sacred to the Memory of Anne, the beloved Wife of Lieut.-General H. A. Scott, Royal Artillery, Daughter of Robert Alexander, Esq., of Boomhall near this city, died at The Rangers, Dursley, Sept. 18th, 1865, aged 85.

"And of the aforesaid General H. A. Scott, R.A., who died at the Grange, Alderley, Gloucestershire, August 1st, 1868, aged 89.

"And of Annie his daughter, Wife of B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Retired List of the Bengal Civil Service, who died also at the Grange, Jan. 3rd, 1868, aged 52."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closing. His memory was singularly retentive, full of the incidents of a period which to me seemed already historical, yet keenly alive to every new interest, scholarly, political, and artistic, of the hour. He formed a most attractive link between the present and the past. At times he poured out recollections of the heroic days of the East India Company; at others he would discuss the last new book, or the Volunteer movement, of which he was a generous supporter from its commencement, or the most recent phase in home and Continental politics. Often the only liberal in the company of strongly conservative squires, whenever Gladstone's name was mentioned at his table, he would lift his glass with a courteous smile to his opponents around him, and say in a gentle voice, "Here's to Gladstone! God bless him: the greatest statesman of the day."

His politics and his scholarship he kept, as a rule, for his friends. His courtesy was for all men. Whether people differed from him or not, they could not help admiring him. He was popular in the hunting field, and rode with two packs of hounds until the last of several accidents at the age of sixty-eight—a concussion of the brain. He lived the pleasant life of a country gentleman with a good stable, an annual visit to London, and during his later years the Riviera in spring. In 1883 he and Mrs. Hodgson built for themselves a permanent home for the winter months at Mentone—the "Villa Himalaya" nestled among flowers and lemon-groves, and commanding a noble view of mountains and sea.

His public appearances were rare. In 1874 he took part in a deputation, on the opening up of trade with Tibet, to the Duke of Argyll, then Secretary of State for India. But his true life lay in his Gloucestershire home. Its fine old gardens were a constant delight to him, and he seldom returned from his morning's ramble without an armful of flowers. He lived in the open air. Many an hour of quiet reading he spent under the shade of a

noble mulberry tree, enriching the margins of his books with erudite notes on a little table by his armchair. Although he did not hunt after the age of sixty-eight, he continued a vigorous horseman until eighty. He rode up to eighty-six, familiar with every gate and bridle-path of the lovely country along the edge and spurs of the Cotswolds. He was happy in his neighbours, his nearest ones being the old Gloucestershire family of Hale, distinguished in the army and the Church and descended from the famous Sir Matthew Hale. The eminent lawyer, Attorney-General Sir John Rolt, lived at Ozleworth not far off. Miss North, whose collection of flower-paintings occupy a special house at Kew built at her own expense, passed her closing years in a home and garden filled with her favourite exotics, a few minutes' walk from the Grange.

To the Grange itself came many visitors famous in their own paths of life. Sir Joseph Hooker, President of the Royal Society, Sir Henry Yule, the finest Indian historical scholar of our day, Sir Donald McLeod who had splendidly governed the Punjab, Sir Walter Elliot from the Scottish border, Professor Max Müller from Oxford, Professor Cowell from Cambridge, Dr. Needham Cust, Sir James Colvile, President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and Arthur Grote, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, were a few of the men of note who made Alderley Grange unique in its way among English country homes. Hodgson had the rare gift of attaching to himself young men. As his older friends dropped off a new generation of scholars seemed to spring up in their places—Professor Bendall of the British Museum, Professor T. Miller of Strasburg, Professor Tawney, and many others.

The summer months spent in London, or at a charming residence at Wimbledon, kept Hodgson abreast with the outside world. His winters on the Riviera were made bright by groups of friends, some of them the sons or grandsons of the men who had welcomed him into the

world of European scholarship more than half a century before. Renan, one of his latest visitors, used to say that it was from his great master Burnouf that he had learned to reverence the name of Brian Hodgson. Georg von Bunsen maintained unbroken the friendship which his father had bequeathed to him with the Darjiling recluse. The more distinguished of the English colony on the Riviera also flocked around the picturesque old scholar: soldiers like General Chamberlain and General Sir Montagu McMurdo; diplomatists and famous frontier officers like Sir Lewis Pelly and Sir Donald MacNabb; philologers, historians, and political economists like Sir Monier Williams, Lord Acton, and Sir Louis Mallet.

To the very last he had the faculty of making new friends. Count Angelo di Gubernatis, after meeting Hodgson at Florence in 1883, wrote: "It was a real *festa* to us all to make the acquaintance of such a man, so eminent, so simple, and so good." The eager interest which he took in everything on his travels was very striking. At eighty-two he went on a pilgrimage to Horace's Farm in the Sabine Hills, and made many-sided notes on the historical and classical associations of ancient and mediæval Rome.

Scarcely less striking was his intense love of nature. The wooded clefts of the Cotswolds or the rich expanse of the golden valley of the Severn in summer, and the daily drive in the perfect winter climate of Mentone, were to him a constant delight. When over ninety he would never fail to watch the sun setting across the Mediterranean, softly repeating to himself Byron's lines:—

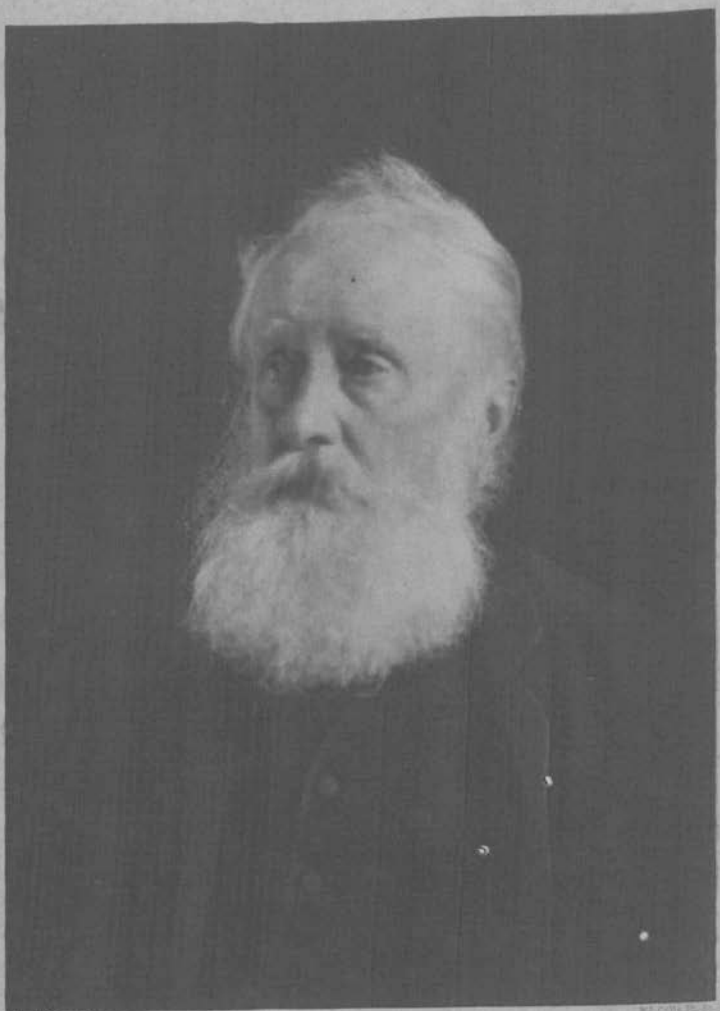
> "Parting day
> Dies like the dolphin, whom each pang imbues
> With a new colour as it gasps away,
> The last still loveliest, till—'tis gone—and all is gray."[1]

In home-life he was a pattern of courtesy. His servants

[1] *Childe Harold*, Canto IV., stanza xxix.

both in India and in England were devoted to him, and scarcely ever left him except in the case of marriages or deaths. If anything occurred to fret him he never allowed himself to utter a hasty word, but went quietly to his own room and remained there. "It is good," he used to say on such occasions, "to commune with your own heart and be still." He was not inclined to discuss religious subjects, and would sometimes repress unwarranted attempts to draw him out by quietly observing, "I do not care to talk about the unknowable." The assumption of exclusive salvation sometimes put forward by British Christians made him indignant. Almost the only retort he ever made was to the sneer of a worthy Dean who questioned whether there was anything in Buddhism. "Sir," replied Hodgson, "Buddhism is simply the creed most widely spread over the face of the earth. It has more followers than any other religion in the world, and it is older than our own. It has a vast and learned literature. Perhaps you might find it not unworthy of the attention of an educated man or even of a dignitary of the Church."

During the whole period that I knew him, the last twenty-five years of his life, he had reached a calm beyond the perturbations of worldly ambitions and honours. It was only by accident that one would have discovered that the genial and dignified host at Alderley was an honoured member of the most exclusive Societies of Europe. I doubt, indeed, whether any Englishman of our century received distinctions from so many learned bodies representing both the scientific and the scholarly sides of research. Certainly no Englishman who spent his life in India has ever done so. Those who knew Hodgson best thought of the man himself, and very little of the rewards that might have come to him. But to those who did not know him, this Life would be incomplete without a reference to the recognitions conferred on him—from the Membership of the Institute of France, and the Fellowship of the Royal Society in England, to the Honorary Membership



M.S. Hodgson Photo

W.L. Colls, Jr.

S. H. Hodgson

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of the great Societies of Italy, Germany, America, and India.[1]

It was a reputation not confined, however, to the honours' lists of learned bodies. Hodgson had a living existence in the world of younger scholars and naturalists as remarkable as his own personal vitality in old age. In the animal kingdom many species and genera of mammals and birds bear his name.[2] In the vegetable kingdom he is remembered by the genus *Hodgsonia heteroclita* and by the beautiful rhododendron which Sir Joseph Hooker dedicated to him. Almost every work on Indian Buddhism, Indian ethnology, or the non-Aryan languages of India written during the past three-quarters of a century begins by grateful acknowledgments of his labours. The references to him in the writings of Professor Max Müller —the Orientalist of genius of our age—would make a little index by themselves. The epoch-making Buddhist treatise of the first half of the century—Burnouf's *Lotus*

[1] The following is a list of some of them, arranged in order of time :—

1828. Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Vice-President of the Society 1876.
1832. Corresponding Member of the Zoological Society, London. Received their medal 1859.
1834. Corresponding Member of the Academy of Science, Turin.
1835. Fellow of Linnean Society.
1837. Corresponding Member of the *Société Asiatique de Paris*: Gold Medal.
1838. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.
1844. Corresponding Member of the *Institut de France*.
1845. Honorary Member of the Natural History Society of Frankfort.
1845. Honorary Member of the Natural History Society of Manchester.
1846. Honorary Fellow of the Ethnological Society, London.
1854. Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
1858. Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, New York.
1862. Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society.
1877. Fellow of the Royal Society.
1889. Honorary D.C.L., Oxford.

[2] See Appendix D, pp. 376-378.

de la Bonne Loi[1]—was dedicated to him. One of the greatest works on Indian ornithology published in the second half of the century was dedicated to him.[2] Twenty-five years ago, at a time when his personality was still somewhat dim to me, I dedicated my book on the Bengal Musalmans to him as the Indian scholar who had "most fully recognised the duty of studying the people."

His earthly honours are past. His memory and his example live. He had the art of beautifully growing old, and perhaps the best reward that life can give—a loved and loving old age. After eighty-five his memory began to lose its middle distance, but to the end he preserved his keen intelligence as to the present and rich stores of recollections of the more distant past. If a regret ever crossed his mind, it was a self-questioning whether he had used to the end his powers of labour. The publication of his Collected Works in three volumes after the age of seventy-four would have satisfied the conscience of most men. When his old friend Sir Joseph Hooker, on his last visit to him the day but one before his death, gave a sigh over all the unfinished work he, Sir Joseph, had on hand, Hodgson exclaimed, "Do not complain of work! Thank God you have got it to do, and can do it. The hardest work of all is idleness." On a previous occasion: "I would not like to be thought an idler. I have done work in my day. It is now time for me to stand aside, and leave it to younger men. I have received my due, and more than my due, for anything that I have done."

With these words I may fitly end this book, which is only a narrative of work. The nearer and dearer relationships of a life which has so recently closed are not for the public eye. From such publicity he himself would have shrunk. When asked if he would like a gathering of

[1] Published posthumously by the French Government, *à l'Imprimerie Nationale*, in 1852.

[2] *The Game Birds of India, Burma, and Ceylon*, by Hume and Marshall. Calcutta, 1879, and in subsequent years.

friends for his silver wedding, which took place about a month before his death, he replied, "No, it is a festival of the heart, and sacred to ourselves." She who knew him best writes: "More than all that he did was what he *was* in himself. The simplicity and nobility of his nature most of all impressed me. He was one of those men with whom you felt that every word came from the heart." Any praise of his work or congratulations on his wonderful vigour in old age he always gently put aside, with *Χάριτι δὲ Θεοῦ εἰμι ὅ εἰμι*, "By the grace of God I am what I am."

He passed away painlessly on May 23rd, 1894, in his ninety-fifth year, and lies buried in the quiet churchyard of Alderley.

THE END.

APPENDIX A.

PREFACE.

THE manuscripts collected by Mr. B. H. Hodgson may be arranged under the following four heads :—

1. SANSKRIT BUDDHIST WORKS (144 Vols.).[1]

Discovered by Mr. Hodgson in Nepal in 1824, and distributed as follows between 1827 and 1845 :—

		MSS
VI. (*a*)	To Calcutta, in 1827. Given originally to Library of Fort William (now in Bengal Asiatic Society's Library)	66
VII.	To Calcutta. Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal (some of these were copies made for the Society)	94
I. (*b*)	To Royal Asiatic Society of London, 1835-36 .	79
II. (*c*)	To India Office Library, London	30
IV. (*d*)	To the Bodleian Library, Oxford	7
(*e*)	To Paris—	
VIII.	Given to Société Asiatique[2]	24
V.	Copied for them	64
III.	Given to Burnouf	59
The two latter collections are now in Bibliothèque Nationale.		
	Total . . .	423

Note by B. H. Hodgson.—N.B.—In 1844, on my return to India, I gave all my sastras to Burnouf. These latter were on Burnouf's death purchased by the French Government, and are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

[1] For the list of these works, see reprint of Mr. Hodgson's *Essays* (Trübner, 1874), pages 36 to 39. Most of them are forthcoming in the lists of distributions that follow.—B. H. H.

[2] Professor Cowell writes, February, 1880, to Mr. B. H. Hodgson : "Twenty-four more are mentioned as also received in the same Journal, Vol. III., p. 316, but no catalogue is given. I have a private list of them. These are still in the library of Société Asiatique." For list see page 353.

2. TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE ABOVE MSS.

A. Complete Copy of the Kahgyur (Kanjur) and Stangyur (Tanjur), or Sacred Codes of Tibet (334 Vols.).

This superb edition was procured by Mr. Hodgson in 1838 from the Grand Lama of Tibet, and is now deposited in the India Office Library.

B. The Yum, or Tibetan Translation of the Prajna Paramita (Folio, 5 Vols.).[1]

Procured by Mr. Hodgson in Nepal, and given by him to the British Museum [2] in 1845.

C. Various Tibetan Translations presented to Asiatic Society of Bengal.

3. A MASS OF MSS., MOSTLY IN SANSKRIT, Explanatory of the Buddhist Drawings, presented to France in 1858.[3] Now in the Library of the French Institute.

4. A LARGE COLLECTION OF MSS. IN SANSKRIT, NEWARI, PERSIAN, AND ENGLISH, amassed during Mr. Hodgson's residence in Nepal, for the full exposition of the history, institutions, races and tongues, revenue and commerce, of that country. Presented to the Secretary of State for India in 1864, and now deposited in the India Office Library.

The following lists show the names of the Sanskrit manuscripts distributed by Mr. Hodgson, and their places of deposit, so far as can now be ascertained.[4]

[1] A and B are not MSS., but stereotype print, beautifully executed—the alphabet, like the substance, derived from India, the printing from China. B is the large version of the original or Sata-sahas-rika.—*Note by B. H. H.*

[2] I make this statement on the authority of Mrs. Hodgson.

[3] See *Journal des Savants* for 1863.

[4] I have to thank Professor Max Müller, Professor Cowell, Mr. Bendall, and Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, for their kind assistance in the compilation of these lists. The original transliteration is preserved in each of the lists; but the names are rendered uniformly (on the Clarendon Press system) in the alphabetical index at the end.

CATALOGUES OF HODGSON COLLECTION OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

I.

HODGSON MSS. *in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, catalogued by* PROFESSORS COWELL and EGGELING, *and published in the Journal of the Society, Vol. VIII., New Series* (1876).

THE manuscripts of Buddhist works described in the following pages were collected in Nepal by Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1835 and 1836. The great importance of a thorough examination of the Buddhist Sanskrit works of Northern India, both for Prakrit philology and for Buddhist research, is becoming more and more apparent; and it seemed very desirable that the contents of this collection, which, though deficient in many of the standard works, is perhaps the finest of original manuscripts in Europe, should become better known to scholars interested in these inquiries. A detailed analysis[1] of the works was beyond the scope of the present catalogue, as it would in many cases be extremely difficult, if not impossible, without comparing other copies. It is hoped, however, that the brief description now offered will, at least, suffice for the identification of the works, and will for that reason be acceptable to Sanskrit scholars.

The *Newar* era, in which many of these MSS. are dated, commenced in October, 880 A.D. This number has accordingly to be added to the Nepal date to obtain the corresponding Christian year.

The material of the MSS. consists of Indian paper, unless otherwise stated. By *modern* MSS. are intended such as appear to have been written within the present century.

N.B.—Mrs. Hodgson has kindly undertaken the responsibility for revising the following Lists and the special Index to them—including their orthography. They are reproduced substantially from my published *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts collected in Nepal by Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S.* (Trübner, 1881).

1. Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita.—Complete in thirty-two chapters. 204 palm leaves. 22½ in. by 2½ in. Six lines in a page. Old.
2. Ganḍa-vyuha.—289 palm leaves. 22½ in. by 2 in. Six lines in a page.
3. Dasabhumisvara.—137 leaves (paper). 14½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern MS.
4. Samadhiraja.—219 leaves. 13¾ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 920 (A.D. 1800).

[1] This analysis has been in good part since made by Rajendra Lala Mitra, in his *Nepalese Sanskrit MSS.*

5. Saddharmalankavatara-Mahayanasutram.—157 leaves. 14½ in. by 3¾ in. Six lines in a page. Modern MS.
6. Saddharmapundarika.—174 leaves. 17 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Modern.
7. Lalitavistara.—320 leaves. 15¼ in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 875 (A.D. 1755).
8. Suvarnaprabhasa.—86 leaves. 13 in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 942.
9. Mahavastuavadanam.—360 leaves. 17 in. by 5¼ in. Eleven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 933 (A.D. 1813).
10. Ratnapariksha by Buddhabhatacharya.—35 leaves. 13 in. by 2½ in. Dated *Samvat* 764 (A.D. 1644).

A treatise on gems and precious stones (Hera, vaidurya, etc.).

11. Sarvakatadanavadanam.—20 leaves. 10½ in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 916 (A.D. 1796). Wanting fol. 18.
12. Sugatavadanam.—In twelve chapters. 85 leaves. 12 in. by 2¾ in. Five lines in a page. Modern MS.
13. Bodhicharyavatara.—In ten *parichchhedas*. 47 palm leaves. 12½ in. by 1¾ in. Five lines in a page. Old. The shape of the figures and of some letters is very peculiar.
14. Asvaghosha-Nandimukha-Avadanam [? Vasudharavratam].—52 leaves. 11½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern MS. Very incorrect.
15. Uposhadhavadanam and Doshanirnayavadanam.—22 leaves. 14½ in. by 3 in. Five to seven lines in a page. Modern Foll. 1-14, 16 and 22 have been supplied by a later hand.
16. Syama-Jatakam and Kinnari-Jatakam.—39 leaves. 14½ in. by 3½ in. Seven lines in a page. Modern.
17. Svayambhupuranam.—20 leaves. 13 in. by 2¾ in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 771 (A.D. 1651).
18. Mahat-Svayambhupuranam.—In eight *adhyayas*, corresponding with the chapters of the preceding work. 173 leaves, numbered 1-69, 90-193. 13 in. by 4½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.
19. Gunakarandavyuha.—205 leaves. 16½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 927 (A.D. 1807).
20. Sukhavativyuha-Mahayanasutram.—65 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Five or six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 934 (A.D. 1814).
21. Karunapundarika-Mahayanasutram.—204 leaves. 14 in. by 3¾ in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 916 (A.D. 1796).
22. Chaityapungava.—12 leaves, paged 12 to 34. 13 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page.
23. Madhyama-Svayambhupurana (? thus outside), or (?) Svayambhudesa.—In ten chapters. 107 leaves. 13½ in. by 3¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

24. Karandavyuha-Mahayanasutram.—138 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.
25. Vadikavadanam and Gandharvikavadanam.—31 leaves. 11¾ in. by 3¼ in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.
26. Punyaprotsahanam (?).—24 leaves. 10½ in. by 4 in. Six to eight lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 905 (A.D. 1785).
27. Dvavimsati-(punyotsaha-)avadanam.—108 leaves. 13 in. by 2¾ in. Six lines in a page. Written in the latter part of last century.
28. Lokesvarasatakam by Vajradatta.—26 leaves. 9 in. by 2¼ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 764 (A.D. 1644).
29. Sragdharastotram with Tika.—Thirty-seven sections. 39 leaves. 7¼ in. by 3¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.
30. Stotrasangraha.—14 leaves. 8¾ in. by 2¾ in. Five or six lines in a page. Modern writing.
31. Bhadrakalpavadana-Stotrasangraha.—46 leaves in one continuous roll, the writing covering 69 pages. 7½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.
32. Ekavimsatistotram (Tarastotram).—4 leaves. 9 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.
33. Bhadrachari pranidhanam.—In 56 (? 57) couplets. 7 leaves. 10 in. by 3 in. Six or seven lines in a page. Dated *Nepala-Samvat* 942 (A.D. 1822).
34. Namasangiti-tika, entitled Gudhapada.—In fifteen chapters. 180 palm leaves. 12 in. by 2¼ in. Seven lines in a page. Old. Some pages are sadly defaced.
35. Namasangiti-tippani, entitled Amritakanika.—Another commentary on the same work; and other treatises. 62 leaves, numbered 7-55, 66-78. 12 in. by 2 in. Ten lines in a page. Very minutely written about the end of last century.
36. Bhairavapradurbhava-natakam.—115 leaves. 11¼ in. by 6 in. Ten lines in a page. The first leaf is missing.
37. Samputodbhava.—In eleven *kalpas*, each of four *prakaranas*. 127 palm leaves. 12½ in. by 1¾ in. Five lines in a page. Old.
38. Samvarodaya-mahatantram.—In 33 *patalas*. 94 leaves. 11½ in. by 3½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.
39. Yogambaratantram.—27 leaves. 10 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern and careless writing.
40. Dvatrimsatkalpa-mahatantraraja.—Two chapters (*kalpas*) only, viz. the *Hevajra* and the *Dakinijasamvara-mahatantram*. 48 leaves. 12 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.
41. Krishnayamaritantra-tika.—In fifty-four *patalas*. 182 leaves. 13 in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern handwriting.
42. Kriyapanjika, by Kuladatta.—In three *prakaranas*. 46 leaves. 11 in. by 3¼ in. Seven lines in a page. Oldish.

43. Tattvajnanasamsiddhi-tippani.—Incomplete at the end. 8 palm leaves. 12¾ in. by 1¾ in. Six lines in a page. Old.
44. The Apararddha of the Guhyasamaja.—In fifteen *patalas*. 121 leaves. 10½ in. by 3½ in. Six or seven lines in a page. Modern careless handwriting.
45. Pindapatravadanakatha.—9 leaves. 10½ in. by 2¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern.
46. Ekallaviratantram [Chandamaharoshanatantram].—In twenty-five *patalas*. 50 palm leaves. 8½ in. by 3 in. Seven or eight lines in a page. Old.
47. Mahakalatantram.—In thirty *patalas*. 53 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Seven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 921 (A.D. 1801).
48. Bhutadamaratantram.—In twenty-six *patalas*. 57 leaves. 13 in. by 3½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.
49. Kalachakra-tantram.—In five *patalas*. 180 leaves. 10½ in. by 4 in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.
50. Sarvadurgatiparisodhanam.—99 leaves. 8½ in. by 2¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.
51. Durgatiparisodhani.—Apparently part of the preceding work, though differing in the beginning. 31 leaves. 12 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 919 (A.D. 1799).
52. Tantraslokasangraha.—154 slokas. 13 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Eight lines in a page. Oldish. Much worm-eaten.
53. (Gitapustakam.)—A collection of 139 vernacular hymns, without title, the above designation being given on Mr. Hodgson's slip. 76 leaves (of which 1, 70, and 75 are missing). 8¾ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated (after hymn 133) *Samvat* 825 (A.D. 1705).
54. Kankirna-tantram.—26 leaves (and three *patrankas*). 10¾ in. by 3¾ in. Seven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 944 (A.D. 1824).
55. Dharani-sangraha.—240 leaves. 15½ in. by 4 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 911 (A.D. 1791).
56. Pancharaksha.—152 leaves. 12 in. by 2¾ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 887 (A.D. 1767). Some leaves have been supplied by a more modern hand.
57. Pancharaksha.—40 leaves. 10 in. by 2¾ in. Five lines in a page. Oldish.
58. Vasudhara-dharani.—21 leaves. 14 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 759 (A.D. 1639).
59. A collection of Dharanis, called Saptavara on the wrapper.—26 leaves. 8½ in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Oldish.
60. Grahamatrika.—Identical with the last portion of the preceding MS. 13 leaves. 9½ in. by 2¾ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 818 (A.D. 1698).

61. Pratyangira-dharani.—14 leaves. 9½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Written in the last century.
62. Manjusri-pratijna.—22 leaves. 10 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Written A.D. 1835.
63. Satasahasri Prajnaparamita.—The second *Khanda*, from the 12th to the 25th *parivarta*. 329 leaves. 15 in. by 7 in. 17-20 lines in a page. Modern.
64. Meghasutram.—The 64th and 65th parivartas. 32 leaves. 11½ in. by 2¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern.
65. Adhivasanavidhi.—Partly vernacular. 200 leaves. 12¾ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern handwriting.
66. Prayogamukham.—On the philosophy of grammar. 48 leaves. 11 in. by 3½ in. Six or seven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 918 (A.D. 1798).
67. Anumanakhandam.—69 palm leaves. 12 in. by 2¼ in. Eight or nine lines in a page. Old.
68. Shadangayoga-tippani.—29 palm leaves. 12 in. by 2 in. Six or seven lines in a page. Oldish.
69. Adikarmapradipa.—13 palm leaves (of which fol. 11 is missing). 12½ in. by 2 in. Five lines in a page. Old. The date (in the reign of *Devapala?*) is given at the end in letters. It requires some familiarity with the character to make out the writing.
70. Poshavidhanam.—6 palm leaves. 11½ in. by 2 in. Seven lines in a page. Old. Apparently formulas and invocations.
71. Ahoratravratakatha.—In slokas. 8 leaves. 14 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Written in the latter part of last century.
72. Balipujavidhi.—On Tantric ceremonial. Partly vernacular. 40 leaves folded into one continuous roll. 7¼ in. by 2¾ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 908 (? 808).
73. Nishpannayogambali [°yogambaratantram].—66 leaves. 12 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 944 (A.D. 1824).
74. Dravyagunasangraha.—A treatise, in slokas, on various subjects connected with cookery and eating. 30 palm leaves. 12 in. by 1 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 484 (A.D. 1364).
75. Kamasastram.—Vernacular. In thirteen *pratichchhedas*. 19 leaves. 13¼ in. by 2¼ in. Six lines in a page. Last century.
76. Ashtamivratamahatmyam.—Vernacular (Newari). 60 leaves. 8½ in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page.
77. Mahapratyangira-mahavidyarajni-Dharani.—21 leaves of blackened paper. 8 in. by 2¾ in. Five lines in a page, written alternately in yellow and white paint, there being three of the former and two of the latter. Dated *Samvat* 944 (A.D. 1824).
78. Dhvajagrakeyura-Dharani.—3 leaves. Size, paper, and handwriting as in the preceding MS.

79. Collection of Dharanis.—21 leaves. Size, paper, and handwriting as in preceding MSS. Generally three white and two yellow lines in a page. Cf. No. 59.

80. Satasahasrika Prajnaparamita. These huge volumes had escaped the notice of Messrs. Cowell and Eggeling, but were found by Professor Bendall upstairs. See his letter of April 10th, 1888, to the *Academy*.

II.

SANSKRIT MSS. *presented to the India Office Library by* MR. HODGSON.

1. Panchamaharakshasutra.
2. Sphotikavedya, by Narada.
3. Kamaratna.
4. Tattvakaumudi (commentary on Maghakavya, by Bhavadatta).
5. Suprabhastava.
6. Bhimasenanamadharani.
7. Vajraviramahakalamantrarajahridayadharani, by Vajravira.
8. Ganakamandana, by Nandikesvara.
9. Pushyamahatmya.
10. Sarasangraha, by Chanakya.
11. Syamarahasya, by Purnananda.
12. Haravali.
13. Chaurapanchasika, with a commentary.
14. Lokanathasundarashtaka.
15. Sikhasamuchchaya.
16. Namashtottarasataka.
17. Durgatika, by Jagaddhara.
18. Bodhicharyavatara, by Santideva.
19. Avadanasataka (called Satakavadanakatha).
20. Saradatilaka.
21. Dharmasangraha.
22. Vagvatitirthayatraprakasa, by Gauridatta.
23. Gunakarandavyuha.
24. Sragdharastotra (2743 *a*).*
25. Dasakrodhaviradhyana.
26. Padmapanika stuti.
27. Pratyangirastotra.
28. Astrology.
29. Alphabets.
30. Sragdharastotra (2473 *b*).*

III.

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MSS. FROM NEPAL, *published at pp. 330–336 of Burnouf's "Catalogue des Livres Imprimés et Manuscrits" (Paris, 1854).*

1. Daçabhumiçvara, l'un des 9 Dharmas (livres canoniques) des Buddhistes. Oblong, 142 fol. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl. (*No. in Catalogue* 73.)
2. Prajna paramita; recueil philosophique qui renferme la partie spéculative du Buddhisme; l'un des neuf livres canoniques des

Buddhistes. 423 fol. Avec une vignette servant de frontispice. —1 gros vol. oblong, belle écriture. Caractères Dévanâgaris Népâlais (74).

3. Samadhiraja, le Roi de la Contemplation. Ouvrage narratif, l'un des 9 Dharmas, ou livres canoniques des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol. oblong (75).
4. Le même que le précédent. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol. oblong, 205 fol. (76).
5. Tathagata-gouhyaka, l'un des neuf Dharmas (ouvrages canoniques) des Buddhistes.—1 vol. oblong, belle écriture sanskrite du Népâl, 255 fol. (77).
6. Gandavyuha. L'un des neuf Dharmas (livres canoniques) Buddhiques. Ouvrage narratif. Oblong. Caractère sanskrit du Népâl, 362 fol. (78).
7. Le même que le précédent. Oblong. Caract. Dévanâgaris Népâlais, 295 fol. provenant de la vente de M. E. Jacquet, à qui M. Hodgson l'avait envoyé en 1835 (79).
8. Le même que le précédent. Très-beau manusc. oblong. Caractère sanskrit Népâlais, 427 fol. (80).
9. Lankavatara. Descente à l'île de Lanka. L'un des neuf Dharmas, ou livres canoniques des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl, 159 fol.—1 petit vol. oblong (81).
10. Suvarnaprabhasa, la splendeur de l'éclat de l'or. Traité philosophique considéré comme l'un des neuf livres canoniques des Buddhistes. Caract. sanskrits Dévanâgaris, 120 fol.—1 vol. oblong (82).
11. Prajnaparamita, ou la perfection de la Sagesse. L'un des livres fondamentaux du Buddhisme Népâlais, ouvrage écrit en sanskrit, avec les caractères Dévanâgaris du Népâl. Ce beau et précieux manuscrit m'a été donné par M. Hodgson en 1837 (*Note de M. E. Burnouf*).—1 vol. oblong, 302 fol. (83).
12. Meghasutra. Traité Buddhique, l'un de ceux qui sont considérés comme révélés par Cakyamuni lui-même. Caractère Dévanâgari. —1 petit vol. oblong, 39 fol. (84).
13. Sukhavativyuha. Traité Buddhique, du genre de ceux que l'on nomme Mahayanasutras, servant de grand véhicule; très vénéré des Buddhistes Népâlais. (*Voir* l'Introd. à l'Histoire du Buddhisme indien, p. 99 et suiv.) Caract. sanskrits Dévanâgaris.—1 vol. oblong, 64 fol. (85).
14. Lalitavistara. Histoire de Cakyamuni, depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort. L'un des ouvrages réputés sacrés au Népâl. Il est écrit en sanskrit, en prose mêlée de vers; les gâthâs ou stances portent de nombreuses traces de prâkrit.

Ce beau manuscrit, qui a été écrit avec le dévanâgari de

Népâl, m'a été envoyé de Katmandu par M. Hodgson, en Avril 1836 (*Note de M. E. Burnouf*).—1 vol. oblong, 232 fol. (86).

15. Le même que le précédent. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol. oblong, 262 fol. (87).
16. Dipamkaravadana. Légende du Buddha futur nommé Dipamkara. Belle écriture dévanâgari.—1 vol. oblong, 51 fol. (88).
17. Vasantatilaka. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl. Petit traité en l'honneur de Vadjra Sattva, le sixième des Buddhas surhumains, selon les Népâlais.—Un petit vol. oblong, 16 fol. (89).
18. Bodhitcharyavatara. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl. Légende de Bodhitcharya; livre buddhique.—1 vol. oblong, 55 fol. (90).
19. Mahavastu. Grande Collection d'histoires. Recueil de légendes relatives au fondateur du Buddhisme et à ses contemporains. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol. oblong, 398 fol. Envoyé par M. Hodgson, Mai, 1841 (91).
20. Karanda Vyuha ou Gunakarandavyuha. Construction de la Corbeille des Qualités. Poème à la louange d'Avalokitecvara, le plus vénéré des Bodhisattvas. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol. oblong, 63 fol. (92).
21. Même titre que le précédent, mais écrit en prose. Paraît être le recit primitif qui a servi de texte au poème. (*Voir* l'Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme indien, pp. 220 et 221.) Caractères sanskrits du Népâl, un peu cursifs, mais très-soignés.—1 petit vol. oblong, 92 fol. (93).
22. Mahavastu avadana. Légendes buddhiques. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol. oblong, 532 fol. (94).
23. Djatakamala "La Guirlande des Naissances." Légendes buddhiques. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 191 fol. (95).
24. Kriyasangraha "Recueil de Céremonies" (Buddhique). Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 112 fol. (96).
25. Divyavadana. Légendes buddhiques. Caractères sanskrits Dévanâgaris.—1 vol. oblong, 447 fol. Envoyé par M. Hodgson (97).
26. Divyavadana. Recueil de Légendes buddhiques. Caractères Dévanâgaris.—Oblong, 231 fol. (98).
27. Saddharmapundarika "Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi." Caractères Dévanâgaris.—1 vol. oblong, 224 fol. (99).
28. Le même que le précédent. En caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 205 fol. (100).
29. Durgati pariçodhani. Traité buddhique. Caractères sanskrits du dévanâgaris.—Oblong, 101 fol. (101).
30. Vajrasana sadhana mala. Traité philosophique à l'usage des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 153 fol. (102).
31. Bhuvanadipika. Traité buddhique. Caractères dévanâgaris du Népâl.—Oblong, 85 fol. (103).

32. Pancharakcha. Ouvrage buddhique. (*Voir* Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme indien, p. 462.) Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 140 fol. (104).
33. Nadiparikcha. Traité buddhique, incomplet. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 5 fol. (105).
34. 7 feuilles manuscrites, sur lesquelles sont écrits en forme de tableaux les noms des divinités honorées par les Buddhistes, et quelques formules de prières. Caractères dévanâgaris très-lisibles. Deux de ces feuilles sont à deux colonnes et portent une traduction en persan (106).
35. Atcharyakriya-Samutchtchaya. Traité rituélique à l'usage des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 vol., 163 fol. (107).
36. Dharanisangraha. Recueil de formules magiques (Buddhique). Très-belle écriture dévanâgari.—Oblong, 168 fol. (108).
37. Mahamantranusarini. Ouvrage buddhique, qui traite des Mantras ou formules magiques. Caractères sanskrits dévanâgaris.—1 vol. oblong, 158 fol. (109).
38. Samvarodayatantra. Ouvrage qui contient des prières, des formules magiques, et des détails des diverses cérémonies, usitées chez les Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong (110).
39. Bhutadamara Tantra. Traité buddhique du genre des précédents. Caractère dévanâgari.—Un petit vol. oblong, 47 fol. (111).
40. Samputodbhava Tantra. Traité mystique à l'usage des Buddhistes. Caractère dévanâgari.—Un vol. oblong, 135 fol. (112).
41. Pratyangira Mahavidya. Petit traité relatif à la deesse Durga ou Parvati, d'après les idées empruntées aux Civaïstes par les Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Un petit vol. oblong, 28 fol. (113).
42. Dharmakocavyakhya. "Commentaire sur le Trésor de la Loi." Ouvrage philosophique qui traite des diverses sectes buddhiques. Caractère dévanâgari.—Un vol. oblong, 583 fol. (114).
43. Abhidhanottarottara. Traité buddhique. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Un petit vol. oblong, 215 fol. (115).
44. Le même que le précédent. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Un petit vol. oblong, 154 fol. (116).
45. He Vadjratantra. L'un des *Tantras*, ou rituels ascétiques des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Un petit vol. oblong, 66 fol. (117).
46. Le même que le précédent. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Un petit vol. oblong, 55 fol. (118).
47. Mahakala Tantraradja. Ouvrage ascètique qui renferme des formules mystérieuses et divinatoires en usage chez les Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Un petit vol. oblong, 62 fol. (119).

48. Le même que le précédent. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong, 47 fol. (120).
49. Karavira Tantra. Traité ascétique à l'usage des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong, 102 fol. (121).
50. Krichnayamari-tantra. Traité Buddhique du même genre que le précédent. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong, 60 fol. (122).
51. Le même que le précédent. Buddhique. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong, 110 fol. (123).
52. Yogambara Tantra. Traité Buddhique du même genre que les précédents. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong, 63 fol. (124).
53. Suprabhata Stotra. Stances en l'honneur de Buddha. Beaux caractères dévanâgaris.—1 petit vol. oblong (en paravent), 32 plis (125).
54. Vadjrasutchi. Traité de polémique contre la division des castes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—5 fol. oblong. Le texte de cet ouvrage a été lithographié et traduit en anglais (126).
55. Vadjrasutchi. Caractères sanskrits dévanâgaris.—1 vol. oblong, 16 fol. (127).
56. Kalyana-Pantchavimcatika Stuti. Vingt-cinq stances pour invoquer les Divinités Buddhiques. (*Voir* le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 500 et 501.) Caractères dévanâgaris.—1 petit vol. oblong, 4 fol. (128).
57. Buddhavinaya. Traité de discipline Buddhique. Caractères dévanâgaris du Népâl.—1 petit vol. oblong, 102 fol. (129).
58. Djvalavalitantra. Traité mystique (buddhique). Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 79 fol. (130).
59. Suvarnarprabha. La splendeur de l'éclat de l'Or. Traité mystique à l'usage des Buddhistes. Caractères sanskrits du Népâl.—Oblong, 120 fol. (131).

IV.

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(From Printed Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at Oxford by Prof. Aufrecht.)

1. Lit. Nepal. Folia palmarum 99.
   † *a*. Foll. 1–68. Karandavyuha-mahayanasutra. Buddh.
   † *b*. Foll. 69–99. Gosringaparvatasvayambhuchaityabhattarakoddesa, libellus in octo capita (parichheda) divisus, auctore Gayachandra. Buddh.

2. Lit. Nepal. Charta Ind. Foll. 61.
   † Kallaviratantra, vel Chandamaharoshanatantra, in viginti quinque patala divisum. Buddh. (Ekallasiratantra in Cowell & Eggeling's list.)
3. Lit. Nepal. Charta Ind. Foll. 74.
   † Sukhavativyuha-mahayanasutra. Buddh.[1]
4, 5. Lit. Nepal. Charta Ind. Vol. I., foll. 141; Vol. II., foll. 145.
   † Prajnaparamita, capp. 1–32. Buddh.
6. Lit. Nepal. Charta Ind. Foll. 195.
   † *a.* Foll. 1–173. Dharani, invocationes et formulæ mysticæ. Buddh.
   † *b.* Foll. 174–195. Kapisavadana, capita decem. Buddh.
7. Lit. Nepal. Charta Ind. Foll. 190.
   † Lalitavistara, Sakyamunis Buddhæ vita. Buddh.

V.

CATALOGUE DES LIVRES BUDDHIQUES, ÉCRITS EN SANSKRIT, *que* M. B. H. HODGSON *a fait copier au Népal pour le compte de la Société Asiatique, et qui ont été présentés au Conseil dans sa séance du* 14 *Juillet,* 1837.[2] (*"Journal Asiatique," IIIme Série, Tome IV.,* 296-98; 1837.)

TITRES DES OUVRAGES.	NOMBRE des feuilles.	DISTIQUES CONTENUS sur chaque feuille.	TOTAL des distiques.
1. Rakcha bhagavati Prathamakhanda .	570	44	25,080
2. Rakcha bhagavati Dvitiyakhanda .	534	47	25,098
3. Rakcha bhagavati Tritiyakhanda .	534	47	25,098
4. Rakcha bhagavati Tchaturthakhanda	582	43	25,025
5. Pantchavimcatisahasrika . . .	461	54½	25,015
6. Svayambhupurana	152	25	3,800
7. Samputodbhavatantra . . .	211	14	2,954
8. Kakchaputantra	57	31	1,592
9. Pantchakrama	33	18	612
10. Pantchakramatippani . . .	14	18	306
11. Rachtrapalavadana	57	17½	997
12. Sugatavadana	75	16	1,200
13. Bodhitcharyavatara	56	18	1,008
14. Kapicavadana	38	15	570
15. Upochathavadana	23	17	391
16. Kathinavadana	18	14	252

[1] Principal authority for Buddhism in Nepal, and first work issued (original text) by Clarendon Press.—B. H. H.

[2] L'original de ce catalogue, écrit en sanskrit, et daté du 29 Septembre, 1836, a, par décision du Conseil, été déposé dans les archives de la Société.

Titres des Ouvrages.	Nombre des feuilles.	Distiques contenus sur chaque feuille.	Total des distiques.
17. Pindapatravadana	8	14	112
18. Lokecvaracataka	19	15	285
19. Çringabheri	19	25	456
20. Lankavatara	106	35	3,710
21. Svayambhupurana mahat.	166	24	3,984
22. Mahavastu avadana	415	44	18,260
23. Acokavadana	332	29	9,628
24. Djatakamala	86	49	4,214
25. Manitchudavadana	66	13½	901
26. Tchhandomritalata	36	20	720
27. Sumagadhavadana	21	28	588
28. Abhidhanottarottara	143	25	3,575
29. Vinayasutra	188	29½	5,536
30. Avadanakalpalata	51	31	1,581
31. Suvarnavarnavadana	74	26	1,924
32. Ratnavadana	369	22	8,118
33. Saptakumarikavadana	22	11	242
34. Buddhatcharitakavya	87	21	1,827
35. Satchtchakratavadana svalpa	74	16	238
36. Satchtchakratavadana vrihat	76	15	1,140
37. Bhutadamaratantra	66	10½	693
38. Kriyasamutchtchayatantra	182	32	5,824
39. Sahakaropadecavadana	18	13	234
40. Dharmakocavyakhya	535	34	18,190
41. Bhadrakalpavadana	477	24	11,448
42. Karunapundarika	184	24	4,416
43. Ahoratravratakatha	28	12½	350
44. Çardulakarnavadana	92	24	2,208
45. Nagapudja	7	12	84
46. Dvavimcatyavadana	91	24	2,184
47. Nichpannayogambaratantra	71	20	1,820
48. Ratnaparikcha	36	10	360
49. Djvalavalitantra	83	15	1,245
50. Çatavadana	253	29	7,337
51. Divyavadana	337	40	13,480
52. Sadhanamalatantra	193	36	6,948
53. Kalpadrumavadana	292	34	9,928
54. Kriyasamgrahatantra	191	21	4,011
55. Daçabhumicvara	138	23	3,036
56. Mandjucriparadjika	27	15	405
57. Vadjrasattvaparadjika	16	16	236
58. Lokeçvaraparadjika	10	16	160
59. Marmakalikatantra	65	15	975
60. Varahikalpatantra	143	25	3,575
61. Buddhoktasamsaramaya	7	15	105
62. Vasantatilakatantra	18	13	234
63. Virakuçavadana	41	18	738
64. Vajrasutchi	12	13	156

VI.

LIST OF 66 SANSKRIT BUDDHIST WORKS *obtained from the Library of the College of Fort William, and forwarded thereto by* B. H. HODGSON, ESQ., *from Nepal. Some of the titles are uncertain; others have been identified and corrected from the manuscripts in the preceding five lists.*

1. Prajnaparamita Sata Sahasrika.[1]
2. Prajnaparamita, in 18,000 verses. Pancha vingsati sahasrika.
3. Prajnaparamita, in 8,000 verses. Ashtasahasrika.
4. Gandavyaha.
5. Dasabhumiswara.
6. Lankavatara.
7. Saddharmapundarika.
8. Suvarnaprabha.
9. Svayambhupurana.
10. Gunakarandavyuha.
11. Mahavastvavadana.
12. Asokavadana.
13. Bhadrakalpvadana.
14. Jatakamala.
15. Manichudavadana.
16. Dwavinsati Avadana.
17. Nandimukha Avadana.
18. Karunapundarika.
19. Chhandomritalata.
20. Sragdhara.
21. Dharanimantrasangraha.
22. Pratyangira.
23. Pancharaksha.
24. Pratyangira.
25. Pancharaksha.
26. Pratyangira.
27. Paranathanama.
28. Sugatavadana.
29. Sukhavativyuha.
30. Kriyasangraha.
31. Suratnaratnakara.
32. Prayogamukha.
33. Bodhicharya (Buddhichanakya?).
34. Magadhavadana.
35. Chaityapungava.
36. Pindapatravadana.
37. Ganapati-hridaya.
38. Nagapuja.
39. Mahakalatantra.
40. Abhidharmottarottara.
41. Skandapurana.
42. Vinayasutra.
43. Kalpalatavadana.
44. Gitapustaka.
45. Stotrasangraha.
46. Divyavadana.
47. Ratnapariksha.
48. Suvarnavadana (prabha).
49. Kalyana-panchavimsatikastuti.
50. Sringab'heri.
51. Ratnamalavadan.
52. Virakusavadana.
53. Virakusavadana.
54. Kavikumaravadana.
55. Suchandravadana.
56. Uposhadhavadana.
57. Durgatiparisodhana.
58. Dharmakoshavyakhya.
59. Supravartasubha.
60. Kapisavadana.
61. Satyavadana.
62. Sapta-kumarikavadana.
63. Sardulakarnavadana.
64. Sringabherivratavadana.
65. Kalpalatavadana.
66. Vajrasuchi.

[1] There are redactions in 25,000, 18,000, and 8,000 respectively.

VII.

LIST OF SANSKRIT BUDDHIST WORKS *in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Compiled by* RAJENDRA LALA MITRA, ESQ.

1. Abhidhanottara.
2. Abhidharmakosha-vyakhya.
3. Asokavadana.
4. Avadana-sataka.
5. Aparimita-dharani.
6. Bhadrakalpavadana.
7. Bodhicharyavatara.
8. Bodhisattvavadana.
9. Bodhisattavadana-kalpalata.
10. Buddha-charita. (Written in the Bengali character, and bound in book form. Not brought from Nepal.)
11. Buddhachanaka.
12. Chhandomrita-lata.
13. Chaitya-pungava.
    Chaitya-pungava (2nd copy).
14. Dasabhumisvara.
15. Dharani-mantra-sangraha.
16. Durgati-parisodhana.
17. Dvavi*m*satyavadana.

17*b*. Dhvajagra-keyura Dhara*n*i.

18. Ga*n*apatihridaya or Dhvajagra-keyura.
19. Graha-matrika.
20. Gandavyuha.
21. Grahamatrikadhara*n*i.
22. Gu*n*akarandavyuha.
23. Gita pustaka.
24. Himavat Khanda.
25. Kalyanamandira-stotra-tika.
26. Kalyana-pancha-vi*m*sati.
27. Kapisa-avadana.
28. Kriyasangraha.
29. Kriyasangraha-panchaka.
30. Kavikumaravadana.
31. Karandavyuha.
32. Kusajataka.
33. Kalpalatavadana.
34. Karunapundarika.
35. Kuttinyavadana.
36. Lankavatara.
37. Lalitavistara.
38. Lokesvara-sataka.
39. Mahavastvavadana.
40. Manichudavadana.
41. Manana Vedanta.
42. Mahakala tantra.
43. Mantravali.
44. Mahasahasrapramardini.
45. Mahamayuri.
46. Madhymaka-vritti.
47. Nagapuja.
48. Nirghantumatrika.
49. Namasangiti.
50. Pancha-raksha Mahapratisara-kalpa.
51. Puja-paddhati, in 13 parts.
52. Prajna-paramita, in 5 parts complete. Sata Sahasrika 100,000.[1]
53. Prajna-paramita, in 3 parts. (Nepalese.)
54. Do. Ashtasahasrika.
55. Prajna-paramita tika.
56. Do. Panchavi*m*sati.
57. Parnasavari.
58. Pindapatravadana.
59. Prasasti.
60. Pratyangira.
61. Prayogamukha.
62. Ratnamalavadana.

62*b*. Rudra-kalpavadana.

[1] This is the largest version of the Prajna-paramita, in 100,000 verses. There are three redactions, in 25,000, 18,000, and 8,000 respectively. 52, 53, and 54 denote them.—B. H. H.

63. Saddharma-pundarika.
64. Sardula-karnavadana.
65. Samadhiraja No. 816.
66. Saptakumarikavadana.
67. Sringabheri.
68. Sringabheri-vratavadana.
69. Suchandravadana.
70. Sugatavadana.
71. Sukhavativyuha.
72. Suprabhata. (Supravarta stava.)
73. Suvarna-prabha.
74. Svayambhu-purana.
75. Saptavara.
76. Satyavadana.
77. Sragdharavadana tika.
78. Sumagadhavadana.
79. Surya-prajnapti tika.
80. Suvarnavarngavadana.
81. Svayambhu Purana.
82. Sapta-vara.
83. Satyavadana.
84. Tarasatanama.
85. Tathagata-guhyaka.
86. Uposhadhavadana.
87. Ushnisha vijaya.
88. Vasundhara-vrata.
89. Vasundhara stottara satanama.
90. Vajravidarana.
91. Vajrasuchi.
92. Vinayasutra.
93. Vratavadanamala.
94. Virakusa avadana.

VIII.

CATALOGUE OF 24 SANSKRIT BUDDHIST WORKS *presented by* B. H. HODGSON *to the Asiatic Society of Paris in* 1835. *List in handwriting of* B. H. HODGSON, *dated Nepal, November* 1835, *as per letter to* BURNOUF *of November 25th,* 1835, *found by* MRS. HODGSON 1894. Same as mentioned by Professor Cowell. See note to first page of Appendix A.

1. Gunakaranda Vyuha.
2. Gitapushtaka Tantra.
3. Stotra Sangraha.
4. Sumbrodaya Tantra.
5. Durgati Parisodhani.
6. Sukhavati Vyuha.
7. Tarasatanama.
8. Sragdhara.
9. Karvira Tantra.
10. Bhadra Chari Sloka.
11. Pancha Raksha.
12. Maha Kala Tantra.
13. Pratingira-dharani.
14. Swayambhu Puran.
15. Chaitya Pungava.
16. Dharani Sangraha.
17. Karanda vyuha.
18. Ashta Sahasrika Prajna Paramita.
19. Ganda Vyuha.
20. Sad Dharma Pundarika.
21. Lalita Vistara.
22. Tathagata guhyaka.
23. Samadhi Raja.
24. Suvarna Prabhasa.

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APPENDIX B.

MR. HODGSON'S PRESENTATION OF HIS MSS. TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

THE RANGERS, DURSLEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE,
August 2nd, 1864.

To the RIGHT HON. SIR C. WOOD, G.C.B., M.P., *Secretary of State for India.*

SIR,—Having recently submitted to the summary inspection of Mr. Hall, Librarian of the India Office, a great mass of MSS., collected during a long course of years by me in Nepal, when Resident at the Court of Kathmandu, with a view to illustrate the natural and civil history, the literature, languages, religion, institutions, and resources of that little-known country, and Mr. Hall having concurred with me in opinion that these materials, how crude soever their present state, are eminently calculated to subserve the ends for which they were gradually amassed, and also that by being deposited in the India Office Library they are most likely to be turned to fitting use, I hereby beg to tender them to your acceptance for the said Library, and to acquaint you that lists in English and Hindi of the contents of the MSS. are in the hands of the Librarian. I may mention, summarily, that these MSS. contain *inter alia*:—

1st. Twenty-three Vasavalis, or Native Chronicles, partially translated and chronologised by the help of coins and inscriptions.

2nd. A great mass of original documents, relative to the land revenue and to the custom duties.

3rd. Ditto relative to the Army—its amount, discipline, distribution, system of payment, tribes constituting the soldiery, etc., etc.

4th. Ditto, relative to the law and legal administration.

5th. Ditto, relative to the general Ethnography—its amount and constituents, lingually and physically considered.

6th. Ditto, relative to the customs and manners of the population.

7th. Register of Barometer and Thermometer kept at Kathmandu during several years, and tables of prices.

8th. Topography, being twenty-two itineraries, sketches, maps, etc., etc.

9th. A large mass of papers, relative to the prevalent religion, or Buddhism, in fifty-eight separate bundles of papers.

10th. Ditto, relative to the languages and literature, being thirty-six Sanskrit sastras, and seventeen Lepcha and fourteen Limbu books.

I have the honour, etc.,

B. H. HODGSON.

LIST OF MSS. PRESENTED BY MR. HODGSON TO THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY, AUGUST, 1864.

TRUNK No. 1.

The first large bundle contains the Chronicles of the Kings of Nepal in twenty-five lesser bundles, which are divided into two parcels, the one containing the Vasavalis of the Newari dynasty, the other those of the Gurkhali dynasty.

I.—NEWARI CHRONICLES.

1st. Of Raja Pratap Mall.

2nd. Of the Shepherd Kings (Gopal) of Nepal, or the early mythic history, in nine parts.

3rd. Dates of reigns of Kings of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan, from coins,[1] inscriptions, etc., etc.

4th. History of Raja Vishnu Mall of Patan.

5th. Chronicles of the Kings of Nepal, Newari, and Gurkhali, and of the latter's connexion with Chitor, given to me by the late Sovereign of Nepal.

6th. History of Raja Mahendra Mall.

7th. History of Nepal, according to the Buddhists and to the Brahmans.

8th. Persian translation of 7th.

9th. Jit Mohan's (my khardar or scribe) abstract of all the above.

10th. Sundry papers, mostly repetitions of the first eight documents above.

11th. History of Raja Siddh Nar Siuh of Patan.

12th. English translations of the Vasavalis, in two volumes, with some Persian addenda,—both by my office people.

[1] Coins annexed.

II.—Gurkhali Chronicles.

1st. A large roll given to me by the King of Nepal (Rajendra Bikram Sah), containing the Chronicles of the Sovereigns of his (the Gurkhali) dynasty.

2nd. History of the conquest of Garh (Garhwal) given to me by Balbhanjan Pandi (a member of the Ministry in my time).

3rd. Royal and Thappa Vasavalis, given to me by Matabar Singh Thappa (late Prime Minister).

4th. Account of Raja Ran Bahadur Sah.

5th. Names of the successive Rajas and Chiefs of Nepal, from the time of Raja Nar Bhupal to that of Rajendra Bikram Sah (the late Sovereign).

6th. The Family Histories of the Rajas and Chiefs.

7th. Chronology of the above from coins, etc.

8th. History of Raja Prithvi Narayan Sah.

9th. Brahmanical Statement of the Early History of Nepal, from the Hemvat Khand of the Skand Purana.

10th. History, from Raja Prithvi Narayan Sah to Ran Bahadur Sah.

11th. A Gurkhali Vasavali, given to me by Lakshmi Bilas (Court Moonshee).

12th. Account of the Regent Ran Bahadur.

13th. English translations of the above, by my office people, in five volumes.

TRUNK No. 1.—The *second* large bundle.

It contains, in five lesser bundles:—

1st. Hindu Drama on the Death of Kansa, as acted before the Court and Embassy, with some English remarks on the representation.

2nd. Various Itineraries, in Nagri, in Persian, and in English, twenty-two in all.

3rd. Account of the Institutions and Customs (Sthithi) of the Newars, got from Nilgirvanand (one of the judges of the chief metropolitan tribunal in my time). It contains an account of their annual festivals, after the Almanack; of their classification, or Jat-Mala; and of their agriculture, including a large collection of original Talpatras, or title deeds,—the whole included in eight lesser bundles, and some of them translated into English or Persian.

4th. Thirty-six papers relative to Buddhism, as detailed in the Nagri list hereto appended.

5th. Twenty-two more papers relative to Buddhism, as per list just named.

TRUNK No. 2.

The first large bundle contains nine lesser ones, as follows :—

1st. Customs Revenue of Nepal, or Jagat Bhansar.

2nd. House Tax of Nepal, or Savani phagu, from River Mechi to River Bheri.

3rd. Total Revenue of the District of Bhatgaon.

4th. Total Revenues and Expenses of the District of Patan.

5th. Receipts and Outgoings under the head of Tosha Khana.

6th. Alienations of Public Revenue, under the heads of Mana Choul and Chap-Chapeli, or grants of land for charitable and other uses.

7th. The Land Revenue (Pota) of the District of Patan.

8th. Ditto of the District of Bhatgaon.

9th. Bundle of Sundries relative to the Revenues of Nepal.

The *second* large bundle contains thirteen papers, as follows :—

1st. Expenses on account of the Military Band of the Compu (Troops stationed at the Capital).

2nd. Pay and Allowances (Khua-Khangi) of the Officers of the Army.

3rd. Cities and Villages assigned as Pay (Khua) to the Officers of the Srinath Regiment.

4th. Pay and Allowance of one hundred and thirty-one Privates and Non-commissioned Officers of the Compu.

5th. Total Expenses of the Government, including Army, Civil Service, etc., etc.

6th. Total Receipts of the Chiefs or Bharadars from hereditary lands (Birtha and Gut) and from salary (Khangi).

7th. Account of the Army.

8th. Stations of the Army; where and in what numbers posted over the whole kingdom.

9th. Adjustment of the Pay of the Army or Raibandi.

10th. Sundry Scraps in English relative to the Army.

11th. A Volume in English, on the Army, etc.

12th. Three Volumes in English, on the Classification of the People (thar); on the Judicial System; on the Customs (Jagat-bhansar); and on the Army, with some papers in Persian and in Khas (language of the Gurkhalis) on the same subject.

13th. Pay and Allowances (Khet-Khua)[1] of the Srinath Regiment.

[1] Privates get Khet (land) only. Officers get Khet (land) and Khua (sundry dues from village communities). Khet and Khua = Khàngi, or total receipts.

The *third* large bundle contains six lesser ones, as follows :—

1st. Revenue of the District of Patan, as much as is realised in the Tusal Court; and the Land Revenue (Pota) of the District of Bhatgaon.

2nd. Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of Nepal. (Originals of the paper included in No. 12, *supra.*)

3rd. Five Volumes and some Scraps in English, on the Land Revenue (Pota) of Nepal.

4th. Narrative in English of the Relations of the British Government with Nepal.

5th. Two Volumes in English, and Sundry Scraps in Hindi, on the Revenue of the Nepal Tarai or Lowlands.

6th. Sundries in English.

The *fourth* large bundle contains twenty-seven lesser ones, all relative to the Land Revenue (Pota) of the District of Bhatgaon, whereof the details are given in the subjoined Hindi list.

The *fifth* large bundle contains twenty-one lesser bundles, all on the Land Revenue (Pota) of the District of Kathmandu, whereof particulars are given in the Hindi list.

The *sixth* large bundle contains, in Khas and in English, Statement of the Revenue of the Province of Jumla, as per details in Hindi list.

TRUNK No. 3.

Its first large bundle contains eight lesser bundles, as follows :—

1st. Sketch Map of the Valley of Nepal.

2nd. Table of Prices in Nepal during a long series of years, recorded in English.

3rd. An English Volume about Nepal.

4th. Enumeration of the Population of Nepal, taken from the official lists of the collectors of the tax (capitation) called Sawani-Phagun.

5th. Thermometer and Barometer, as kept at Kathmandu for several years for me by Captain Robinson.

Signed,
B. H. HODGSON.

APPENDIX C.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF B. H. HODGSON'S PUBLISHED WRITINGS,

Drawn up under Mr. Hodgson's supervision,[1] *but not including his zoological papers, which form Appendix D to this book. The more important of his still unpublished materials in the India Office Library are shown separately as Appendix B.*

THE following are the heads under which the papers are set down:—

I.—Physical Geography of Himalaya and Tibet.

II.—Topography of ditto.

III.—Ethnography of Tibet, Himalaya, Western Indo-China and India (Turanian or Non-Aryan).

IV.—Buddhism.

V.—Literature and Antiquities.

VI.—Hindu Law and Legal Practice, as seen in Nepal.

VII.—Miscellaneous.

VIII.—On National Education for the People of India. Included among "Books" (No. 1).

IX.—On Trans-Himalayan Commerce, by the Line of Nepal. Included among "Books" (No. 4).

X.—Collected Works; three volumes, 1874 and 1880.

The total number of the papers, as per following list, is 184; of the books, 4; and of the volumes of collected works, 3.

BOOKS.

1. Letters on National Education for the People of India, styled Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars. Serampore: 1st Edition, 1837; 4th Edition, 1847.
2. Literature and Religion of the Buddhists of the North. Serampore: 1841.

[1] I thank Dr. Oliver Codrington for kindly checking this list from the *Asiatic Researches* and Journals of the Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Societies.

3. Aborigines of India. Vol. 1st on the Kooch, Bodo, and Dhimal. Calcutta: 1847.
4. No. XXVII. of Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal. Calcutta: 1857.

Collected Works.

1. Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, together with papers on the Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of those countries. Trübner: 1874. 1 Vol.
2. Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects, in two volumes Trübner: 1880. 2 Vols.

The scattered papers to be next given appeared in the subjoined publications, here quoted in full for the better understanding of the curt style of citation below.

1. Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
2. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
3. Gleanings in Science, being Prinsep's Precursor of Journal of ditto.
4. Transactions and Journal of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India.
5. Bengal Sporting Magazine.
6. Meerut's Universal Magazine.
7. Corbyn's India Review.
8. M'Clelland's Journal of Natural History.
9. Madras Asiatic Society's Journal of Literature and Science.
10. Quarterly Oriental Magazine.

(*The above* 10 *in India.*)

11. Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.
12. Journal of ditto.
13. Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London.
14. Gray's Zoological Miscellany.
15. Annals and Magazine of Natural History.

(*The last* 5 *in London.*)

Now for the List as classified above:—

I.—Physical Geography.

1. Physical Geography of Himalaya. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII. (1849). Reprinted in *Selections from Records of Government of Bengal.*
2. Two Papers relating to the Himalaya and Mount Everest. *Geol. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. I. (1857), pp. 345-351.

II.—Topography.

1. Route from Kathmandu to Tazedo. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. (1832).
2. Route from Kathmandu to Pekin, with Remarks on the Physical Geography of Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXV. (1856), pp. 473-497.
3. Route from Kathmandu to Darjeeling. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848).
4. Measurement (Official) of the Great Military Road throughout Nepal, from Kumaon to Sikim. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*
5. Cursory Account of the Valley of Nayakote. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. X. (1841).
6. The Seven Cosis of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848).
7. Route of two Nepalese Embassies to Pekin, with remarks on the Watershed and Plateau of Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXV. (1856), pp. 473-497.

III.—Ethnography and Ethnology.

1. On the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal. *Researches Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVI. (1828).
2. On the Military Tribes of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. II. (1833).
3. On the Newars, or People of Nepal Proper (Mythic History of, from the Swayambhu Purana, etc.). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III. (1834).

4 and 5. On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVI. (1847), pp. 1235-1244; Vol. XVII. (1848), pp. 469-477, 547.

6. Comp. Vocabulary of Sub-Himalayan Dialects. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVI. (1847), p. 1245.
7. The Aborigines of Central India. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848), Pt. 2, pp. 550-558.
8. Ethnography and Geography of the Sub-Himalaya. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848).
9. On the Chepang and Kusunda Tribes of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848), p. 655.
10. On the Trans-Himalayan Tribes of Hor-yeul, Sog, Yeul, and Sifan. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848).
11. A Brief Note on Indian Ethnology. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII. (1849).
12. Aborigines of Southern India. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII. (1849), pp. 350-359.

13. On the Tibetan Type of Mankind. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848).
14. Aborigines of North-Eastern India. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII. (1849), pp. 451-460.
15. Ditto. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII., Pt. 2, pp. 967-976.
16. On the Aborigines of the Eastern Frontier (North of Assam). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII. (1849), Pt. 2, pp. 967-976.
17. On the Aborigines of the North-East Frontier (Assam, and South of it). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XIX. (1850), pp. 309-317.
18. Aborigines of the South. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XIX. (1850), pp. 461-466.
19. On the Koch, Bodo, and Dhimal People. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVIII. (1847), p. 702.
20. On the Mongolian Affinities of the Caucasians. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXII. (1853), pp. 26-76.
21. On the Indo-Chinese Borderers, and their Connexion with the Himalayans and Tibetans. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXII. (1853), p. 26.
22. Sifan and Horsok Vocabularies. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXII., p. 121.
23 and 24. On the Aborigines of the Nilgiris. Two papers. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXV. (1856), pp. 31-38, 498-522.
25. On the Broken Tribes of Nepal (Comparative Vocabularies of). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vols. XXVI. and XXVII. (1857-8), p. 317.
26. Aborigines of the Eastern Ghauts. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXV. (1856), pp. 39-52.
27. On the Kiranti, Bahing, and Vagu Tribes of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXVI. (1858), pp. 372, 429, 486.

IV.—Papers on Buddhism.

1. Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. (1828), p. 409. Reprinted in *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists* (Serampore, 1841); also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
2. Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Bauddha Scriptures of Nepal. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II. (1828), p. 222, and Appendix V., p. lxxvii. Reprinted in *Illustrations*, p. 49; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
3. On the Extreme Resemblance between many of the Symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. VII. (1827), p. 218, and Vol. VIII. (1828), p. 252. Reprinted in *Illustrations*, p. 203; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.

4. A Disputation respecting Caste by a Buddhist. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. (1829), p. 160. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
5. European Speculations on Buddhism. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III. (1834), p. 382. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
6. Remarks on M. Remusat's Review of Buddhism. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III. (1834), pp. 425, 499. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
7. Notice of Adi-Buddha and of the Seven Mortal Buddhas. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III. (1834), p. 215. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
8. Note on the Inscription from Sarnath. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), p. 241. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
9. Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities in Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 29, 71. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
10. Note on the Primary Language of the Buddhist Writings. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), p. 682. Reprinted in *Illustrations*; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
11. The Pravyajya Vrata, or Initiatory Rites of the Buddhists, according to the Puja Khanda. Reprinted in *Illustrations*.

V.—Papers on Literature and Antiquities.

1. On Bauddha Inscriptions. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III. (1834).
2. On Ancient Inscriptions in Characters of the Allahabad Column. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III. (1834), p. 481.
3. On Sarnath Inscriptions. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), p. 211.
4. On the Ruins of Samaran (Simroun). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835).
5. On Tibetan Inscriptions. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), p. 196.
6. On the Relics of the Catholic Missions in Tibet and Nepal.[1] *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (1848).
7. A Translation of the Naipalya Devatu Kaglana. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XII. (1843 and 1857).

[1] A collection of books that had belonged to Christian missionaries who were expelled from North-East Asia by the Mantchu dynasty of China, and which were given to Mr. Hodgson by the Grand Lama of Tibet and were by him presented to the Pope. These books filled six boxes.

VI.—Papers on Law.

1. On the Law and Legal Practice of Nepal. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. (1834). Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Essays* (Trübner, 1880).
2. Some Account of the Systems of Law and Police in Nepal. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. (1834). Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Essays* (Trübner, 1880).
3. On the Administration of Justice in Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XX. (1836).

VII.—Miscellaneous Papers.

1. On Trans-Himalayan Commerce. Written in 1831. Published in *Selections from Records of Gov.*, No. XXVII., in 1857; also reprinted in Trübner's Volume of 1874.
2. On the Paper of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. I. (1832).
3. On the Cultivation of Hemp in Nepal. *Transactions of the Agricultural Society of India*, Vol. VIII. (1838).
4. On the Silkworms of India. *Journal of the Agricultural Society of India*, Vol. IV.
5. On the Wool of Tibet. *Journal of the Agricultural Society of India*, Vol. V. (1846).
6. On the Colonisation of the Himalaya by Europeans. *Selections from Records*, 1857; also in Trübner's Volume of 1874.

Mr. Hodgson reissued the most important of the foregoing papers in three volumes of collected *Essays* (one volume in 1874, and two volumes in 1880), published by Trübner & Co., London.

APPENDIX D.

CATALOGUE OF PAPERS BY B. H. HODGSON ON MAMMALS AND BIRDS.

Taken from Royal Society Catalogue of Scientific Papers.[1]

1. Account of the Chiru, or Unicorn of the Himalaya Mountains (Pantholops Hodgsoni). Tilloch, *Phil. Mag.*, Vol. LXVIII. (1826), pp. 232-234. *Edinb. Journ. Sci.*, Vol. VII. (1827), pp. 163, 164. Férussac, *Bull. Sci. Nat.*, Vol. XV. (1828), p. 141. Froriep, *Notizen*, Vol. XV. (1826), pp. 274-276.
2. Sur la Portée du Rhinocéros. Férussac, *Bull. Sci. Nat.*, Vol. VII. (1826), pp. 436, 437. Froriep, *Notizen*, Vol. XIV. (1826), col. 55, 56.
3. On the Growth and Habits of a Young Rhinoceros. *Edinb. Journ. Sci.*, Vol. VII. (1827), pp. 165, 166.
4. On a New Species of Buceros (B. Nepalensis). *Gleanings in Science*, Vol. I. (1829), pp. 249-252.
5. On the Chiru, or Antilope Hodgsonii, Abel. *Gleanings in Science*, Vol. II. (1830), pp. 348-351.
6. On the Buhaline Antelope (Antilope Thar). *Gleanings in Science*, Vol. I. (1831), pp. 122, 123, 327.
7. Some Account of a New Species of Felis (F. Moormensis). *Gleanings in Science*, Vol. I. (1831), pp. 177, 178.
8. On some of the Scolopacidæ of Nepal. *Gleanings in Science*, Vol. I. (1831), pp. 233-243.
9. Contributions in Natural History (the Musk Deer and Cervus Jarai). *Gleanings in Science*, Vol. I. (1831), pp. 320-324.
10. Description and Characters of the Chiru Antelope (Antilope Hodgsonii, Abel). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. I. (1831), pp. 52-54.
11. Note relative to the Account of the Jarai. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. I. (1832), pp. 66, 67.
12. Further Illustrations of the Antilope Hodgsonii, Abel. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. I. (1832), pp. 59-63; *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. I. (1833), pp. 110, 111.

[1] Those on ethnological subjects omitted, as they have already appeared in Appendix C. Mrs. Hodgson has kindly undertakenthe responsibility for the Appendices and their orthography.

13. On the Mammalia of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. I. (1832), pp. 335-348.
14. Characters and Descriptions of New Species of Mammalia and Birds from Nepal (Felis Moormensis, Antilope bubalina, Buceros Nepalensis). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. II. (1832), pp. 10-16; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), pp. 178-186.
15. On a New Species of Buceros (B. Nepalensis), Dhanesa, Ind. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), pp. 178-186.
16. On a Species of Aquila (circaëtus) and Dicrurus. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), Pt. 2, pp. 13-26.
17. On the Migration of the Natatores and Grallatores, as observed at Kathmandu. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), Pt. 2, pp. 122-128.
18. The Wild Goat (Capra Jharal) and the Wild Sheep (Ovis Nayaur) of Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), Pt. 2, pp. 129-138.
19. On the Ratwa Deer of Nepal (Cervus Ratwa). *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), Pt. 2, pp. 139-149.
20. Description of the Buceros Homrai of the Himalaya; with Anatomical Observations by Dr. M. T. Bramley. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), Pt. 2, pp. 168-188.
21. Description of the Wild Dog of the Himalaya (Canis primævus). *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII. (1833), Pt. 2, pp. 221-237.
22. Characters of a New Species of Perdix (P. Lerwa). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. I. (1833), p. 107.
23. Description and Characters of the Wild Dog of Nepal (Canis primævus). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. I. (1833), pp. 111, 112.
24. Note on the Chiru Antelope (Gazella Hodgsoni, Abel). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. I., pp. 59, 66; Vol. III., p. 138.
25. Letter on the Distinction between the Ghoral (Antilope goral, Hardw.) and Thar (Antilope Thar, Hodgs.). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. II. (1834), pp. 85-87. Oken, *Isis*, 1835, col. 1039.
26. On the Mammalia of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. II. (1834), pp. 95-99.
27. On the Characters of the Jharal (Capra Jharal, Hodgs.), and of the Nahoor (Ovis Nahoor, Hodgs.), with Observations on the Distinction between the Genera Capra and Ovis. *Zool. Soc. Proc.* Vol. II. (1834), pp. 106-110. Froriep, *Notizen*, Vol. XLIV. (1835), col. 129-134. *L'Institut*, Vol. III. (1835), pp. 121-123.
28. Description of the Bearded Vulture of the Himalaya (Gypaëtos [Vultur] barbatus). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 454-457. *Bibl. Univ.*, Vol. VIII. (1837), p. 212.
29. Red-billed Erolia. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 458-461.

30. Synopsis of the Thar and Ghoral Antelopes. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 487-489.
31. On the Wild Goat and Wild Sheep of the Himalaya, with Remarks on the Genera Capra and Ovis. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 490-494, 710. *Ann. Sci. Nat.*, Vol. V. (*Zool.*) (1836), pp. 299, 300.
32. Specific Description of a New Species of Cervus (C. elaphoides). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 648, 649; Vol. V. (1836), pp. 240-242.
33. Synopsis of the Vespertilionidæ of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 699, 700.
34. Note on the Red-billed Erolia, or Clorhynchus strophiatus. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), p. 701.
35. Description of the Little Musteline Animal (Putorices Kathiah) denominated Kathiah Nyul in the Catalogue of the Nepalese Mammalia. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), pp. 702, 703. With Postscript to the account of the Wild Goat of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IV. (1835), p. 710.
36. Indication of a New Genus of the Carnivora (Ursitaxus inauritus), with Description of the Species on which it is founded. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIX. (1836), pp. 60-69.
37. Description of Three New Species of Paradoxurus (P. hirsutus, P. Nepalensis, P. lanigerus). *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIX. (1836), pp. 72-87.
38. Notices of the Ornithology of Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIX. (1836), pp. 143-192.
39. Description of a New Species of Columba (C. Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 122, 123.
40. Summary Description of some New Species of Falconidæ. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 227-230.
41. Synoptical Description of Sundry New Animals enumerated in the Catalogue of Nepalese Mammals. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 231-238.
42. Notes on the Cervus Duvaucelii, Cuvier, or C. elaphoides and Bahraiya, Hodgs. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 240-242. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. IV. (1836), pp. 46-47.
43. Description of Two New Species belonging to a New Form of the Meruline Group of Birds, with Indication of their Generic Character (Cochoa purpurea, C. viridis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 358, 359.
44. On a New Genus and Species of the Meropidæ (Bucia Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 360, 361.
45. On a New Piscatory Genus of the Strigine Family (Cultrungus flavipes). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 363, 364.

46. Postscript to the Account of Ursitaxus (Meles Labradorius) printed in the XIXth Vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), p. 671.
47. Note on Zoological Nomenclature. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 751, 752.
48. Additions to the Ornithology of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. (1836), pp. 770-774.
49. On some of the Scolopacidæ of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. IV. (1836), pp. 7, 8.
50. On the Lachrymal Sinus in Antilope Thar and Cervus Aristotelis. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. IV. (1836), pp. 39, 40.
51. On Seven New Species of Vespertilionidæ observed in the Central Region of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. VI. (1836), p. 46.
52. On Three New Genera or Sub-genera of Long-legged Thrushes (Tesia, *nobis*, Larvivora, Paludicola), with Descriptions of their Species. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 101-103.
53. Description of Three New Species of Woodpecker (Picus sultaneus, Vivia Nepalensis, Picus pyrrhotis) and of Malacolophus melanochrysos. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 104-109.
54. Indication of a New Genus of Insessorial Birds (Cutia). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 110-112.
55. On a New Genus of the Sylviadæ, with Description of Three New Species (Yuhina gularis, Y. occipitalis, Y. flavicollis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 230-232.
56. On some New Genera of Raptores, with Remarks on the Old Genera. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 361-373.
57. New Species of Scolopacidæ (Indian Snipes). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), p. 489.
58. Description of the Gauri Gau of the Nepal Forest (Bibos subhemachalus). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), p. 499. Wiegmann, *Archiv*, Vol. VI. (1840), pp. 263-267.
59. On a New Genus of the Plantigrades (Urva cancrivora), with an Appendix by A. Campbell. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 560-565.
60. On the Bibos, Gauri Gau, or Gaurika Gau of the Indian Forests (Bibos cavifrons, B. classicus, B. Aristotelis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 745-749.
61. Indication of a New Genus belonging to the Strigine Family, with Description of the New Species and Type. *Madras Journ.*, Vol. V. (1837), pp. 23-26.
62. On Two New Genera of Rasorial Birds (Lerva, Arborophila). *Madras Journ.*, Vol. V. (1837), pp. 300-306.
63. On the Structure and Habits of the Elanus melanopterus. *Madras Journ.*, Vol. VI. (1837), pp. 75-78.

64. On a New Species of Pheasant (Phasianus crossoptilon) from Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VII. (1838), pp. 863, 864.
65. On a New Genus and Two Species of the Fissirostral Tribe (Raya sericeogula, R. rubropygea). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VIII. (1839), pp. 35, 36.
66. (Three) New Species of Meruline Birds (Sibia picaoïdes, S. nigriceps, S. Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VIII. (1839), p. 37.
67. On Cuculus (Pseudornis) dicruroides. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VIII. (1839), pp. 136, 137.
68. On Three New Species of Musk (Moschus) inhabiting the Himalayan Districts (M. chrysogaster, M. leucogaster, M. saturatus). *Journ Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VIII. (1839), p. 202.
69. Summary Description of Four New Species of Otter. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VIII. (1839), pp. 319, 320. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. V. (1840), p. 27.
70. On the Common Hare of the Gangetic Provinces, and of the Sub-Himalaya; with a Slight Notice of a Strictly Himalayan Species. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IX. (1840), pp. 1183-1186. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. VIII. (1842), pp. 231-234.
71. Three New Species of Monkey (S. schistaceus, *hodie* Pithex oinops, P. pelops), with Remarks on the Genera Semnopithecus and Macacus (Pithex, *nobis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IX. (1840), pp. 1211-1213.
72. Classical Terminology of Natural History. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. X. (1841), pp. 26-29.
73. On the Two Wild Species of Sheep (Ovis ammonoïdes, O. Nahoor) inhabiting the Himalayan Region, with some Brief Remarks on the Craniological Character of Ovis and its Allies. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. X. (1840), pp. 230-234.
74. Illustrations of the Genera of the Bovinæ. Part I. Skeletons of Bos, Bibos, and Bison, the Individuals examined being the Common Bull of Nepal, the Gowri Gao of Nepal, and the Yak. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. X. (1841), pp. 449-470.
75. Note on the Cervus elaphus (elaphoides ?) of the Saul Forest of Nepal (*hodie* C. affinis, *nobis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. X. (1841), pp. 721-724.
76. Notice of the Marmot (Arctomys Himalayanus) of the Himalaya and Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. X. (1841), pp. 777, 778.
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LIST OF MR. HODGSON'S ZOOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS.

I. Zoology.

1. Specimens:—

Birds	9,512
Mammals	903
Reptiles, etc.	84
Total	10,499

All presented to the British Museum in 1843 and 1858. A series reserved by the Museum for itself, along with all the Reptiles; and the rest (duplicates) distributed to the chief European and American Societies.

2. Drawings:—	Sheets.
Birds	1,241
Mammals	557
Reptiles	55
Total	1,853

The above drawings received back from the British Museum (less the Reptilian ones, which were retained), given in 1874 to the Zoological Society of London.

II. ETHNOGRAPHY.

1. Specimens	79
2. Drawings, including duplicates	107

Specimens all given to British Museum.

Drawings given to Christie Collection, 46 sheets; to Anthropological Society of London, 61.

LIST OF NEW GENERA AND SPECIES OF MAMMALS FIRST DESCRIBED BY B. H. HODGSON, ESQ.

Kindly contributed by SIR WILLIAM HENRY FLOWER, K.C.B., *Director of the Natural History Branch of the British Museum.*[1]

Order PRIMATES.

Family CERCOPITHECIDÆ.

1. *Semnopithecus schistaceus*, Hodgson.

Order INSECTIVORA.

Family TALPIDÆ.

2. *Talpa micrura*, Hodgson.

Family SORICIDÆ.

3. *Soriculus caudatus* (Hodgson).
4. „ *macrurus* (Hodgson).

Order CHIROPTERA.

Family RHINOLOPHIDÆ.

5. *Rhinolophus tragatus*, Hodgson.
6. *Hipposiderus armiger*, Hodgson.

Family VESPERTILIONIDÆ.

7. *Synotus Darjelingensis* (Hodgson).
8. *Vespertilio formosus*, Hodgson.

[1] I also thank Mr. Lydekker for the actual preparation of this list.

Order CARNIVORA.

Family VIVERRIDÆ.

9. *Linsang pardicolor* (Hodgson).
10. *Paradoxurus laniger*, Hodgson.
11. *Herpestes auropunctatus* (Hodgson).
12. „ *urva* (Hodgson).

Family CANIDÆ.

13. *Canis ferrilatus* (Hodgson).

Family MUSTELIDÆ.

14. *Mustela canigula*, Hodgson.
15. „ *cathia*, Hodgson.
16. „ *subhemachelana*, Hodgson.
17. „ *strigidorsa*, Hodgson.
18. „ *larvata* (Hodgson).
19. (?) *Meles leucurus* (Hodgson) ? = *M. taxus*.
20. *Lutra aurobrunnea*, Hodgson.

Order RODENTIA.

Family SCIURIDÆ.

21. *Pteromys magnificus* (Hodgson).
22. *Sciuropterus alboniger*, Hodgson.
23. *Sciurus locria*, Hodgson.
24. „ *locroides*, Hodgson.
25. *Arctomys Himalayanus*, Hodgson.

Family MURIDÆ.

26. *Mus niveiventer*, Hodgson.
27. „ *cervicolor*, Hodgson.
28. *Nesocia nemorivaga* (Hodgson).
29. *Microtus Sikimensis* (Hodgson).

Family SPALACIDÆ.

30. *Rhizomys badius*, Hodgson.

Family LEPORIDÆ.

31. *Lepus oiostolus*, Hodgson.

Family LAGOMYIDÆ.

32. *Lagomys Curzoniæ*, Hodgson.

Order UNGULATA.

Family BOVIDÆ.

33. *Ovis nahura*, Hodgson.
34. *Nemorhœdus bubalinus* (Hodgson).
35. *Budorcas taxicolor*, Hodgson.
36. *Gazella picticaudata* (Hodgson).

Family CERVIDÆ.

37. *Cervus affinis*, Hodgson.

Family SUIDÆ.

38. *Sus salvanius* (Hodgson).

Order EDENTATA.

Family MANIDÆ.

39. *Manis aurita*, Hodgson.

N.B.—Where the generic term has been changed, the name of the founder of the species is bracketed. The only genus in this list described by Hodgson which stands is *Budorcas*; but he also named *Cyon*, *Hemitragus*, and *Pantholops*, which are likewise generally admitted.

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